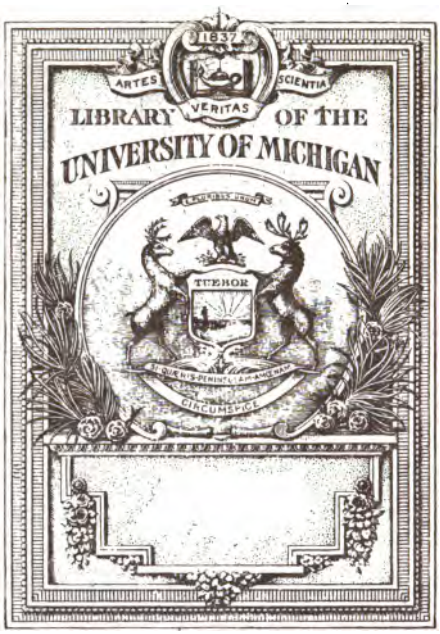

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From a Painting at Plymouth.

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BY THE REV.
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From a Painting at Plymouth

Captain Myles Standish:

HIS LOST LANDS AND LANCASHIRE CONNECTIONS.

A New Investigation.

BY THE REV.

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Vicar of St. John the Divine,

Coppull, Lancashire.

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Foreword.

THE ancestral homes of the Men of the Mayflower are centres of interest both to Americans and ourselves.

The following pages record some recent researches into "the mystery of Myles Standish." New light is thrown on the problem of his lost lands, and of his descent. Some old traditions are challenged; the squires of Duxbury and the rectors of Chorley are cleared of the charges often brought against them.

May every other misunderstanding, whether small or great, between Old England and New England be as easily dissipated, and Anglo-American friendship wax firm and strong.

The author is indebted to Professor James Tait for much guidance and help, and to H. M. McKechnie, Esq., M.A., Secretary of the Manchester University Press, for the valuable assistance he has given.

Cordial thanks are tendered to Mrs. Tempest and to H. N. W. Standish, Esq., for the use of the Standish Deeds and Papers; to Dr. William Farrer for the loan of the Towneley Manuscripts; and also to Mr. D. Halton for permission to use photographs.

Harold Sumner, Esq., O.O.B.E., has given generous aid towards the cost of publication.

Last, but not least, the writer is indebted to J. M. Ainscough, Esq., J.P., his friend and helper in many an antiquarian quest.

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List of Illustrations.

PART OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

From Camden's Britannia, Edition of 1695 (*reduced*).

The above map, scale about 6¾ miles to the inch, shews the places mentioned in the will of Captain Myles Standish, except Mawdesley which adjoins Bispham. Ormskirk is a town accessible from Wigan or Southport; it possesses an interesting ancient Church. At Burscough are the scanty ruins of the old Abbey. Croston, Mawdesley, Newburgh and Wrightington are country places. At Standish Church are many interesting memorials; and at Chorley Church the monuments of the Standishes of Duxbury.

The above map shews The Pele (now Duxbury Park) on the wrong side of the river, but the accompanying name is on the correct, south, side. The 1637 edition gives the name as "The Pele of Duxbury." It was never in the parish of Chorley, as some have supposed, but was always in the ancient parish of Standish.

CHAPTER I.

The Character and Career of Captain Standish.

IT has recently been said concerning the Pilgrim Fathers that they leave no impression of personality on the mind. "Not one of them had compelling personal genius, or marked talent for the work in hand."

Mr. John Masefield's statement is perhaps a necessary corrective to excessive hero-worship, but so blunt an estimate is apt to be misleading. The men who crossed the Atlantic in 1620, seeking a large measure of freedom in worship, were not great in genius as poets and artists are; but they were surely great in character and endurance. Moreover, they had the physical and mental gifts which enabled them to become the founders of a new commonwealth.

The chronicles are somewhat meagre. We know comparatively little of the tragedy and comedy of the early settlement. But what we do know forbids us to think that the Pilgrims were lacking in personality, and that they were in temperament dull and drab as the hoddengrey they wore.

Captain Myles Standish stands somewhat apart from the other Men of the Mayflower. But he is usually counted among the Pilgrims; and if Mr. Masefield includes him in the summary judgment just quoted, and contends that the Captain of Plymouth leaves upon us no impression of personality, Longfellow and Lowell thought differently. The romanticists delight in him; tradition gathers round him. It is not so with a mere lay figure. Even if we take away all that we owe to the literary redactors, and envisage

years he was assistant governor, and was treasurer of the colony, 1644-1649.

One other reference reveals him to have been a gallant English gentleman in his attitude to the native Indian women. "So the Captain returned to the plantation, where he released the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them."[1]

We cannot fairly say, then, that the Captain of Plymouth leaves upon us "no impression of personality." Casual inquiry may lead us, like Pecksuot, to deem him a little man; but a careful reading of the chronicles will reveal to us his strength and gentleness. We shall find him, to echo the words which Longfellow puts into the mouth of the friendly Indian, "Big enough to lay us speechless before him."[2]

The statements made by Nathaniel Morton, to the effect that Standish was born in Lancashire, went to the Netherlands, was a soldier there, and became acquainted with the church at Leyden, embrace all that is definitely known about him before 1620.

His descendants about two centuries after his death claimed that they had seen a commission appointing him to a lieutenancy in Her Majesty's forces on the Continent, which gave the date of his birth as 1584. If this commission is extant, it should yield other useful information, but its whereabouts cannot be ascertained.

Myles would be about 19 years old when Queen Elizabeth died, March 24, 1602-3; so that he was a very youthful officer.

Markham in his account of "The Fighting Veres" mentions Myles among their soldiers, but probably on the evidence of Longfellow's poem, for he gives no reference to Myles from military documents of that period.

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[1] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 329; *cf.* Henry V. at Harfleur, *Gesta Henrici V.* Eng. Hist. Soc., 217.

[2] *Cf. Pilgrim Fathers*, 327.

The present writer has vainly searched several volumes of the State Papers, Holland, in the Public Record Office, for any mention of him. Vol. 60 gives an account of the Battle of Newport by Sir Francis Vere, January 22, 1600-1, and there are also lists of officers returning home on leave, etc. In the volume of loose papers dated about 1602, paper number 225 gives names of all the captains in the Low Counties, but Myles Standish is not included.

According to Professor Usher, Standish was sent by the Merchant Adventurers with the Pilgrims in the Mayflower, as their salaried servant. No doubt the Merchants regarded him as a sort of insurance policy; they paid his stipend in order that he might defend the emigrants and teach them to defend themselves.

Being deflected from their intended destination (the lands of the Virginian Company) the Pilgrims cast anchor on November 11, 1620, in the bay of Cape Cod. Standish acted as commander of the exploring parties. It is stated that he was the only one of the colonists who had ever fished or fired a gun. It is pretty certain that but for his foresight the explorers would have been exterminated on the field of the First Encounter, December 8, 1620, when a surprise attack was made upon them by the Indians.[1]

On December 19, the settlers selected a site for their colony to which they gave the name New Plymouth. Here it was that Myles Standish endeared himself to the sick by his skill and care in the terrible sufferings of the first winter.

On February 17, 1620-1, Standish was chosen, or confirmed, in the office of captain, and given command in military matters.[2]

Of all his exploits, the rescue of Weston's colony at Weymouth in March, 1622-3, is perhaps the most notable. A great plot had been arranged by the Indians to kill Weston and his companions, and then assail the white people at Plymouth. Standish set off for Weymouth

[1] Usher's *Pilgrims*, 75, 79.
[2] *Ib.*, 180.

with only eight men, and on his arrival was mocked by the unfriendly chiefs, Pecksuot and Wituwamat. Displaying marvellous calmness and courage, he bided his time, enticed the ringleaders away from the others and slew them. The combat took place in a lodge, not out-of-doors as Longfellow depicts it. Winslow's *Relation* gives the incident with much detail.[1]

A visit to England was paid by Captain Standish in the summer of 1625. He went to London to seek the help of the Council of New England in settling differences between the colonists and the Merchant Adventurers of London. He accomplished very little on account of the plague, and returned in April, 1626, to New Plymouth. Later in the same year many of the London Adventurers were bought out. Myles Standish and seven other leading planters, with four London friends, undertook to raise part of the money needed, in return for a monopoly of the foreign trade.

In 1628, trouble arose between the Plymouth settlers and Thomas Morton's colony at Merry Mount, near Boston. Captain Standish went to arrest Morton who had sold guns to the Indians. Morton and his friends threatened a desperate resistance, and he put up his gun to shoot Standish. But the latter stepping forward, pushed away the gun and took him prisoner. Like the hostile Indians, Morton taunted Standish with his small stature, calling him "Captain Shrimp;" but once again the cool daring of the Captain triumphed, and Morton was sent to England for trial.[2]

Among other adversaries of the colonists were some French traders, who in 1635 seized a fort on the Penobscot, belonging to the Plymouth settlers. Captain Standish was sent to dispossess them, but was not successful. He was foiled by the navigating captain of the ship in which he sailed and by the men, who fired off all the shot at long range.

[1] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 267.
[2] *Ib.*, 93; Usher, 140.

Believing that Plymouth was not the best site, Myles Standish and some others removed in 1632 to a new settlement on the north side of Plymouth Bay, and to this the name Duxbury was given.

In 1653, when war with the Dutch appeared likely, 60 men of the colony were impressed, and Captain Standish, though in his 70th year, was called to command them. This was within three years of his death. Happily the disputants did not come to blows.

The offices in the colony held by Captain Standish have already been mentioned. He died at Duxbury on October 3, 1656. Nathaniel Morton says in connection with the Captain's death, "He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or strangury, whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord and was honourably buried at Duxbury."

A copy of his will with the inventory attached is among the court records at Plymouth.[1] This will, dated March 7, 1655-6, mentions his second wife Barbara, his sons Alexander, Myles, Josias, Charles, and his deceased daughter Lora. The clause relating to his lands in Lancashire will be discussed later.

Captain Standish left buildings and land worth £140, and £358 7s. in personalty. He had five horses and colts, four oxen, 10 cows and calves, 11 sheep and 14 swine. His arms and armour comprised a fowling piece, three muskets, four carbines, two small guns, a sword, a cutlass and three belts. Among the remaining articles were such luxuries as feather-beds and scent bottles, and such practical things as spinning wheels, beer casks and a malt mill. His books are discussed on pages 85–97.

His second wife, Barbara, came out to the colony on the ship Anne in the year 1623. She was called Mrs. Standish in the grant of lands in that same year. In 1627 they had three children, Charles, Alexander and John. There is a tradition that Rose, the first wife, was related to Barbara, the second; some say she was a sister, others say a cousin.

[1] *Mayflower Descendant*, III., 153-155.

There is also a difference of opinion as to whether the maiden surname of Rose and Barbara was Standish, or some other name now unknown.[1]

The descendants of Captain Standish are numerous in America. According to Belknap, Dr. Wheelock, a president of Dartmouth College, and Dr. Kirkland, a president of Harvard, are to be numbered among them.

The alleged portrait of Myles Standish at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, is not proved to be authentic. It purports to represent him in 1625, and in his 38th year, thus implying a different date for his birth than 1584, the year usually accepted.[2]

A monument to his memory consisting of a granite shaft 110 feet high, surmounted by a bronze figure of the Captain, has been erected at Duxbury, in America. The corner stone was laid in 1872.

Something has already been said about his character and importance. He was, as Mr. Goodwin has expressed in an eloquent estimate in "The Pilgrim Republic," "the man of men whom the Pilgrims most needed."

"There can be no doubt," says Professor Usher, "that if Bradford was the great figure in civil affairs, Standish was the dominant influence in dealing with the Indians. Winslow to be sure did much, but Standish obtained a better knowledge of the Indian dialects, and was in addition a much more active and resourceful man. The romanticists and poets have dealt hardly with him, almost to the undoing of his place in history. . . . . He was admirably well-placed however in the colony, and the more one studies Pilgrim annals the larger he bulks, the greater his ability seems, and the more important his services. His high personal courage, his resourcefulness, his great physical endurance, his fiery temper, all made him the leader needed to complement the more peaceful and contemplative Bradford."[3]

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[1] Belknap, *Am. Biog.*, II., 310; Morton, 1826 ed., 262.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XV., 324. C. K. Bolton, *Portraits of the Founders*, Boston, 1919, vol. ii.

[3] *The Pilgrims*, 126.

CHAPTER II.

The Mystery of Myles Standish.

ALTHOUGH Captain Standish played such a leading part in the settlement of New Plymouth, there has always been a certain obscurity as to his presence among the Pilgrims, and also in regard to his birth and English connections. A threefold mystery is attached to his name. There is the problem of his religion, the problem of his pedigree, and the problem of his lost estates.

First as to his religious beliefs, he seems never to have joined the church of the Pilgrims.[1] Their comrade in adventure was not in entire sympathy with their separatist tenets. Why then did he accompany them? If Professor Usher's statement can be substantiated, that Myles was in the service of the Merchant Adventurers who financed the undertaking, this supplies a motive for his going in the Mayflower. There may have been subsidiary motives as well. His fellow-colonists speak of him as a religious man. This may be deduced also from the number of religious books in his library, and also from the tone of his will. He asks his supervisors to do the office of Christian love to his wife and children and be helpful to them by Christian counsel. Though they may not be able to repay it "I Doe not Doubt but the Lord will."

The fact that Myles Standish never belonged to the Pilgrims' Church has been elaborated by Dr. John Gilmary Shea[2] to prove that he was a Romanist. But an honest Roman Catholic could not have taken the oath required of soldiers serving in the English forces in the Netherlands. The oath contained the following clauses: "I, A.B., do

[1] Hubbard, 63. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[2] *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, I., 390.

sweare and promise to do all true loyal and fruitful service unto the Queen's Majesty of England, &c., and further will defend and maintaine the reformed Christian religion so farre as becometh a true and loyall captain, officer or souldier, &c., abjuring and without decept denying the pope with all his hereticall doctrines and opinions."[1]

Again, the records of the Colony show that he was present at the Puritan services in attendance on the governor. Would a devout Roman Catholic have been able to do this, and would the Pilgrims have put him in office if he had not been a Protestant? On the whole we incline to the opinion that he was neither Separatist nor Romanist, but, like the great majority of his fellow-countrypeople, an English Churchman content with the compromise represented by the reformed Church.[2]

Passing to the problem of the Captain's descent, there is general concurrence with the statement of Morton that Myles was born in Lancashire. But to which branch of the Standish family did he belong? The claim that he made in his will suggests a connection with the parent stock at Standish Hall. After making allusion to some lands of which he had been defrauded (a matter which will be discussed in detail a little later), he says that his great-grandfather was a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish. On the other hand, when Captain Standish removed from Plymouth to a new settlement, he or his friends called this settlement Duxbury. This appears to connect Myles with another branch of the Standish family, seated at Duxbury Park in Lancashire, and quite distinct from "Standish of Standish." The discrepancy is not easy to overcome. It is true that the Duxbury Park family was derived from the Standish Hall stock. But the two branches were distinct from the opening of the fourteenth century, long before Myles Standish's great-grandfather was born.

[1] State Papers, Holland, P.R.O., bundle without date about 1602, loose paper 98.

[2] See also pp. 42, 89.

Perhaps the Captain used "great-grandfather" in a vague sense as equivalent to remote ancestor? But he was claiming property, and a vague statement is somewhat unlikely.

Another suggestion is that, as Duxbury is situated in the ancient parish of Standish, the Captain used the words "of Standish" in the parochial sense, which would include Duxbury. But when the phrase Standish of Standish is used, it is more natural to understand the place-name as denoting the township or manor, and as differentiating this Standish family from other Standish families.

The mystery deepens when we examine the pedigrees, deeds, and papers belonging to these two families, and find in the records of neither branch any mention of a Myles.[1]

No evidence as to the Captain's descent is deducible from the names he gave to his children. "Lora" is found in the Standish Hall branch in 1398.[2] "Alexander" is a name found in both the major branches of the family. Nor would Myles's religious position, even if clearly established, give definite guidance. The Duxbury Standishes were Protestants, but not Separatists. Those at the Hall temporised a good deal until about 1652, when they more definitely adhered to the Roman Catholic position.[3] So far, investigators have failed to prove a line of descent for Myles from either branch of the family.

The earliest definite reference to the English estates of Captain Myles Standish is contained in the concluding paragraph of his last will and testament, which is dated March 7, 1655 [1655-6] and was exhibited before the Court at Plymouth, May 4, 1657, and reads as follows:

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[1] By a slip of the pen, the editor of Vol. XXVI., *Lanc. and Ches. Rec. Soc.*, has written "Miles Standish" instead of the Alexander who married Margaret Clifton, p. 60.

[2] Mrs. Tempest, Standish Deeds, 115.

[3] *Cal. of Com. Comp.*, IV., 2574.

9 I give unto my son & heire aparent Allexander Standish all my lands as heire apparent by lawfull Decent in Ormistick Borsconge Wrightington Maudsley Newburrow Crawston and the Ile of man and given to mee as right heire by lawfull Decent but Surruptuously Detained from mee my great G(ran)dfather being a 2cond or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish.[1]

These lost lands are apparently referred to again in the last will of his eldest son, Alexander Standish, dated February 21, 1701-2 and proved August 10, 1702. The will suggests that he was taking steps towards the recovery of the English estate which his father claimed, for it says:

Also my will is That whatsoever Estate Either in New England or in old which I have Committed into ye hands of Robert orchard to Recover in England by letters of Attorney from under my hand and Seal And John Rogers of Boston in New England by a letter of Attorney from under my hand & seal Be Recovered after my decease my will is that my wife have her third part & ye Remainder to be divided Equally betweene Thomas Standish Ichabod Standish & desire Standish.[2]

The efforts at recovery were evidently unsuccessful. No record has yet been found of the steps taken; and nothing more is heard of the matter for about a century. But Captain Standish's statements were referred to by several early writers. Nathaniel Morton, in his "New Englands Memoriall," printed in 1669, about thirteen years after the Captain's death, repeated more briefly the claims made in the will;[3] and the Rev. William Hubbard, who also wrote before the close of the seventeenth century, says that Captain Standish "was allied to the noble house of Standish in Lancashire, inheriting some of the virtues of that honourable family, as well as the name."[4] Morton emphasises the social status of the Captain, and also the extent of his lost property. "He was a Gentleman, born in *Lancashire*, and was Heir-Apparent unto a great Estate of Lands and Livings, surreptitiously detained from him, his

[1] *Mayflower Descendant*, III., 153-155. Spelt as in the Court Records.
[2] *Ib.*, XII., 101-102. As in the Court Records.
[3] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 171.
[4] *Gen. Hist. New Eng.*, 2nd ed., 1848, p. 556.

great Grandfather being a Second or Younger Brother from the House of *Standish.*"[1]

Remarkably little attention has been paid to the locality or lie of the lands mentioned in the will. While the statement as to lineage would seem to connect Myles with the Standish Hall family, and the American Duxbury suggests some undiscovered link between him and the Duxbury Standishes, investigators have not appreciated the fact that the estate which Myles claimed lay somewhat distant both from Standish and from Duxbury. Some have arrived at the unjustifiable conclusion that the lands mentioned formed the estate of the Duxbury Standishes. The result of ignoring the locality of the lands has been rashly to connect Myles Standish's statement that he was disinherited with the naming of his settlement in the Colony. Thus the mistaken idea has arisen that he was right heir to the Duxbury estates, but lost them through the fraud of others. Myles did not make such a claim in his will; but he made other statements really inconsistent with this view. This claim to the Duxbury estates appears to have been first set up by an Association of the Captain's descendants in America about the year 1846. It was given publicity in Winsor's "History of Duxbury" (1849), and unfortunately adopted by Longfellow in "The Courtship of Miles Standish." The popularity of his poem gave the story a wide circulation.

Leaving the Duxbury myth for later discussion, let us ask whose the lands mentioned by the Captain really were, *i.e.*, to what branch of the family did they belong? So far only two Standish households in Lancashire have been mentioned, but were there no others? In addition to the two chief families, Standishes were found in all parts of the county in the time of Myles. And some of these other homesteads were by no means unimportant. The heads of these scattered Standish families were in some cases gentlemen or even esquires. For instance, the

[1] *New Eng. Mem.*, facsimile edition.

Standishes of Burgh Hall (in Chorley and Duxbury), and those of West Derby were entitled to use heraldic arms.

In dealing with the lost lands of Captain Standish, three statements will be made, and if possible, substantiated. First, he did not claim any part of the estate belonging the family at Standish Hall. Secondly, the lost lands had no connection with the family at Duxbury Manor House. Thirdly, they formed the estate of the Standish family of Ormskirk.

The family of Standish of Standish (the parent stock), as the name denotes, had their chief estate in the township or townships of Standish with Langtree. Ralph Standish, who died in 1538, held the manor of Standish and 22 houses there, and also three mills, 200 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, and 200 acres of heath and moor.[1]

By the time of Edward Standish, who died in 1610, the estate was somewhat reduced; but his inquisition post mortem mentions some 330 acres in Standish.[2] Now Capt. Myles did not claim a single acre in this vill, which was the very headquarters of the Standish Hall stock. Similarly, they held very extensively in Shevington, from early times claiming a fourth part of the manor; the Edward just mentioned had seven houses and land there. Very early also they obtained a house and land in Wigan. The aforesaid Ralph acquired extensive property in Duxbury and Coppull. None of these estates are referred to in the Captain's will. Again, lands in other parts of Lancashire, such as Chadderton, Glodwick, and Rochdale, were from time to time added by marriage to the Standish possessions; but not an inch of these dowry lands was mentioned by Capt. Myles. This indicates that he made no claim to the chief part of the estate held by the manorial lords of Standish.

There are, however, two places named in the Captain's will in which the parent stock had a small estate, viz.,

[1] Lancs. Inquis. P.M., Vol. 8, No. 21.
[2] *Ib.*, Vol. 20, No. 7.

Ormskirk and Wrightington, and others where they had a temporary interest.

The family of Standish of Standish had only one tenement in the parish of Ormskirk, and the history of this tenement seems fairly clear. Kuerden records that Henry le Waleys gave William de Standish "my burgage in Ormskirk bounded."[1] Henry was rector both of Standish and (at one time) of Aughton near Ormskirk, and the grant must have been made early in the fourteenth century. Burgage was a tenure in ancient towns at a fixed yearly rent, a sort of town socage. The burgage at Ormskirk is mentioned among the Standish possessions from time to time. Alexander de Standish held it at the time of his death in 1445. It is referred to in a Standish settlement about five years later.[2] Ralph Standish, who died in 1538, held a cottage, etc., in Ormskirk of the King in burgage, and the clear annual value was estimated at 12d. In the inquisition after the death of Ralph, who died under age in 1546, the holding is described as a cottage in Ormskirk of the value of 12d., held of the King in free burgage as of the late monastery of Burscough. The Standishes of Standish are mentioned as tenants in the various rentals of Burscough Priory. Edward, who succeeded the Ralph last mentioned, appears to have sold this property. For in two and three Philip and Mary [1555-1556] Edward Standish of Standish granted Peter Stanley a tenement in Commonfield in Ormskirk.[3] The inquisition after the death of Edward (1610) does not mention any possessions in Ormskirk.

The Standishes of Standish, then, had formerly a cottage in Ormskirk, but that must not mislead us into concluding that Myles was claiming any part of their estates.

Burscough is mentioned once in their deeds. There is a settlement of lands in Burscough and Lathom by Catherine, widow of Richard de Burscough on Richard

[1] Kuerden Fol. MS., p. 10, No. 44.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 13, No. 53.
[3] Kuerden MS., II., 371*b*.

her son with remainder to Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Standish. This was in 1423-4. If the lands in reversion had ever come to the Standishes they would have been mentioned in the inquisitions.[1]

Wrightington. In this township the Standish family had a small estate—four acres of land, and two of pasture in 1546.

As for *Croston and Mawdesley*, several younger branches had land there. The Standish Hall stock had some interest in the manors of Croston and Mawdesley, perhaps as trustees for the Fleming family, in the early part of the fifteenth century. Ralph Standish, Esq., remitted his rights to Sir Thomas Fleming in 1416.[2] Again, in 1507, Ralph Standish of Standish was guardian of Thomas Ashton, heir of the moiety of the two manors mentioned (Raines MSS. 25, p. 288). No doubt this accounts for the mention of Ralph Standish's tenants in Croston and Mawdesley in 1515.[3] But this interest of the Standish Hall family in Croston and Mawdesley was fugitive; it ceased about 1518, and does not appear in the inquisitions. The Standish Hall family had no estate in the Isle of Man.

By the time of the Edward Standish, mentioned above, who died in 1610, the Standishes of Standish had an interest in only one of the places mentioned in Captain Standish's will, viz.: Wrightington. We may therefore conclude that Myles was not laying claim to any part of their estate.

The holdings of the Standishes of Duxbury may now be examined. It is with this branch that Captain Myles has been commonly but, as it seems to the author, erroneously identified by the majority of writers. They acquired the manor of Duxbury from the family of that name, early in the fourteenth century, in a romantic way. Henry de

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[1] Earwaker, *Standish Deeds*, CXVII.

[2] Towneley MS., DD., 1748, 1772; BB., 94.

[3] Duchy Lanc. Depositions, Vol. 8, K. 2, P.R.O.

Duxbury[1] had taken part in the rebellion of Adam Banastre and was imprisoned at Lancaster, but was suffered to go about the town. He granted a rent from his lands to Hugh de Standish, who undertook to aid in his delivery.[2] This concession paved the way for further surrenders. The connection of Hugh with the parent stock at Standish is not quite clear, but there is evidence that his grandparents were members of the Standish family. His father, whose surname he sometimes used, was Robert de Haydock, rector of Standish.[3] The chief estate of the Standishes of Duxbury from very early times was in Duxbury, Heapey, and Bradley (in Standish with Langtree). They also held in Heath Charnock, Crosby, and elsewhere. Alexander Standish of Duxbury, who died in 1622, had about 432 acres of various lands in Duxbury, and about 332 acres in Heath Charnock. He held extensively in Heapey and Anglezark.[4] These places are not named in the Captain's will. In the places that are named in the will the Standishes of Duxbury appear not to have had any tenements. This again would seem to prove that, of whatever estates Capt. Myles was defrauded, they were not the property of Standish of Duxbury; and, therefore, presumably, he was not on his father's side a member of this particular branch of the Standishes.

The Claim to Duxbury.

The present writer has ventured to describe as a myth the claim made by some that Myles was right heir to the Duxbury estates. In doing so he does not reflect upon the character of those who formulated this extraordinary story. No doubt they were sincere; but they were

[1] A Captain Duxbery or Duxborohe fought in the Low Countries, and fell at the Battle of Newport in 1601; State Papers, Holland, Vol. 60, 199. The surname Duxbury is still extant.

[2] Assize Roll 425, m. *Cf*, also V.C.H. Lancs., Vol. II, p. 198.

[3] Kuerden MS. II., 145*b*.

[4] Lanc. Inquis. P.M., Vol. 24, No. 56. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 17, p. 397.

hasty, and came to rash conclusions. Let us glance at the alleged myth when full-grown and in all its glory.

On August 17, 1871, a piece of ground on Captain's Hill in the New England Duxbury was consecrated as the future site of the imposing monument to Standish which now rises high on that headland. Gen. Horace Binney Sargent was the orator of the day, and in the course of his tribute to the famous Pilgrim captain he declared: "To defeat the title of his line to lands in England, the rent-roll of which is half a million per annum, the hand of fraud is supposed to have defaced the page that contained the parish record of his birth."[1]

We will now go back and trace the myth to its humble beginnings.

The following is an account of an attempt on the part of the descendants of Captain Myles Standish to investigate his claim to estates in England. This attempt was the outcome of several similar endeavours about twenty years before. Mr. Winsor says:

"In the fall of 1846, an association was formed among the descendants of Capt. Standish for the purpose of making investigations, and upwards of $3,000 were furnished to their agent, I. W. R. Bromley, Esq., who started on his mission in November of that year, and returned in October of the following year, without however accomplishing the object of his search. I have been favored with the perusal of some of his correspondence with the Corresponding Secretary of the Association, and some brief minutes which I have gleaned from them may not be uninteresting. The property, to which it was his object to prove the right of Capt. Standish, comprises large tracts of rich farming lands, including several valuable coal mines, and produces a yearly income of £100,000 or more. From a commission, which was found, appointing Standish to a lieutenancy in Her Majesty's forces on the continent, the date of his birth was found, as also from incidents of his life in New England, which have now become a portion of her history, and from other data in the possession of his descendants, which all led to the conclusion that the year 1684 [*sic*, 1584] must have been that of his birth. The family seats are situated near the village of Chorley in Lancashire, and the records of this parish were thoroughly investigated from the year 1549 to 1652. And here in connection

[1] *Myles Standish*, with account of Consecration of Monument Ground, Boston, 1871, p. 24.

Photo: Bottomley, Coppull

CHORLEY CHURCH REGISTER.

(Page 39, with the alleged mutilation, and the preceding page).

comes an incident in the researches of Mr. Bromley, which deserves particular attention, and causes the fair conclusion, that Standish was the true and rightful heir to the estates, and that they were truly 'surreptitiously detained' from him, and are now enjoyed by those, to whom they do not justly belong. The records were all readily deciphered, with the exception of the years 1584 and 1585, the very dates, about which time Standish is supposed to have been born; and the parchment leaf which contained the registers of the births of these years was wholly illegible, and their appearance was such, that the conclusion was at once established, that it had been done purposely with pumice stone or otherwise, to destroy the legal evidence of the parentage of Standish, and his consequent title to the estates thereabout. The mutilation of these pages is supposed to have been accomplished, when about twenty years before, similar inquiries were made by the family in America. The rector of the parish, when afterwards requested by the investigator to certify that the pages were gone, at once suspected his design of discovering the title to the property, and taking advantage of the rigor of the law (as he had entered as an antiquarian researcher merely), compelled him to pay the sum of about £15, or suffer imprisonment. . . . . And thus it will be seen that on account of the destruction of all legal proof, the property must remain forever hopelessly irrecoverable."[1]

Winsor's "History of Duxbury," from which this account is taken, was published in 1849, very soon after Mr. Bromley's unsuccessful investigations in England. In Goodwin's "The Pilgrim Republic," Boston, 1888, p. 452, the story appears in part as follows: "It was found that . . . the leaf for 1584-5, in the Chorley parish-register, had been pumiced so carefully as to leave no trace of the writing, though the record is otherwise complete from 1549 to 1652. This defaced page is not even now open to inspection . . . . the rector, finding him (Bromley) searching for Standish's birth, arrested him under some ancient law, and enforced on him a fine of about £75, with the alternative of imprisonment; and he even refused to certify that the register is illegible at that point. The incumbent of Chorley seems to act as watch-dog for a patron who doubts the soundness of his titles."

The defect in the Register is a fact; but the suggestion of fraudulent erasure is remarkable. Why delete the

[1] Winsor's *Duxbury*, Boston, 1849, pp. 96-97.

record of several months to blot out one entry? The method would be far from economical. Besides, no person has ever testified to having seen the baptismal entry in the Chorley register before the alleged defacement; there is no proof that it ever was there. The state of the Chorley parish register is not accurately described in these reports. The top of page 39 has been torn off, and in other parts of the same page the writing cannot be deciphered; but page 39 contains a portion only of the entries for 1584, the alleged date of Captain Myles's birth. The two pages immediately preceding contain baptismal entries for the early part of the year, down to and including May 8, and these are quite readable. Nor is the torn page "wholly illegible." In the entries thereon for May, June and July no names of persons can be read. In July and August fragments can be deciphered, while from September 23 to the end of the year almost all is distinguishable. Although all of the record for 1585 (pages 39 and 40) is not legible, enough can be deciphered to show that no baptism of a boy named Myles Standish is entered under that year. It is inaccurate to say, as Goodwin does, that "the record is otherwise complete from 1549 to 1652." There are many gaps in the register, the most serious being the lack of any entries for the years 1553-1556 inclusive and 1599-1611 inclusive.

As to the alleged erasure, it is fair to point out that the appearance of the page makes various impressions on different observers. Dr. Myles Standish of Boston states that in 1912 it was plain to him that the defect in the register was due to an erasure. On the other hand, Alderman Fletcher Moss, who visited Chorley about six years earlier, says "The church registers I carefully examined for any record of the baptism of Myles (about 1584), but could not find his name. The old books are much faded, stained with damp and much thumbing, but are not wilfully mutilated."[1]

[1] *Pilgrimages to Old Homes*, III. (1906), p. 78.

In 1910 the Register was transcribed and printed by the Lancashire Parish Register Society. The transcribers, who are careful to note any tampering with the text, make no mention of erasure on page 39. They do, however, say, "Top of this page torn off, and handwriting not decipherable in other parts." In the preface is the statement: "Some portions of the Register have also suffered from mice and damp at a remote period and many pages have presented great difficulties to the transcribers."

The old Register has now been cleverly restored (the torn pages having been mended with new parchment), and splendidly bound; but many other pages present the same appearance as page 39, a state of affairs which may be due to the book being used while in a damp condition, rather than to "the hand of fraud."

In the accusations against the Rev. J. S. Master, we see the myth growing under our eyes. Dr. Myles Standish testifies that Bromley, the agent of the Association, merely claimed that he was *threatened* by the rector with a fine.

But Winsor, in the account just quoted, says that Bromley was compelled to pay the sum of about £15 or suffer imprisonment. Goodwin improves on this by stating that the Rector actually arrested Bromley under some ancient law, and enforced on him a fine of about £75, with the alternative of imprisonment.

Mr. Goodwin does not discriminate between dollars and sovereigns. Not only do seventy-five dollars become seventy-five pounds in the light of his imagination; he suggests a scene in a magistrate's court. Arrested—enforced a fine—alternative of imprisonment! What really happened, no doubt, was something like this:

An American gentleman calls upon the rector of Chorley. The visitor poses as an antiquarian, and the clergyman, not honoured with many visitors from lands so far away, is pleased to humour him. He is taken to the church, inspects the saintly relics given by Sir Roland Standish, scrutinises the Standish pew, and the time-worn Register. Might he be allowed to make a few notes from the old book,

such a curiosity, you know—nothing like this in America? Much flattered, the incumbent agrees.

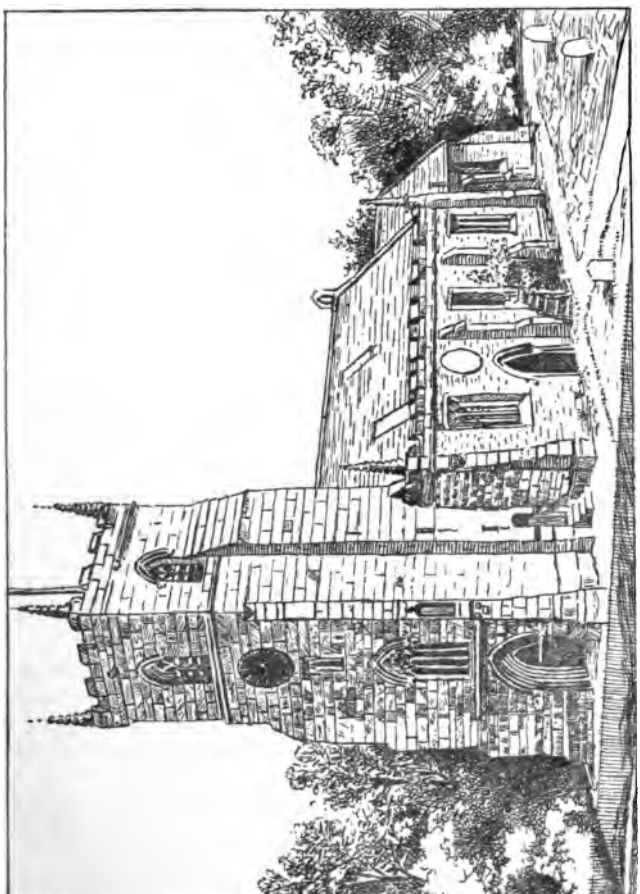
The visitor is left alone for a time. The rector paces up and down, inside, outside, converses with a friend or two, returns to the vestry. There sits the stranger, absorbed, engrossed; his few notes have become many pages of lurid and indignant description. And why? The fatal page (so he imagines) has been pumiced. He is no longer in the mood for plausible pleasantries. Nor is the rector, whose feet are cold and whose luncheon is waiting. The irate Bromley demands an explanation of the unreadable page, and in so doing divulges his real errand. The equally irate rector expostulates against the deception practised upon him. We fancy that we can hear him telling Bromley that he, Bromley, is neither an antiquarian nor a gentleman. "And do you know, sir, that an incumbent is entitled to a customary fee of one shilling for the first year, and sixpence for each subsequent year that a register is searched? And as you say you have examined it from 1549 to 1652, and as baptisms, marriages and burials count separately, the amount due, sir, will be about £7 15s."

This imaginary account probably differs very little from what actually took place. The lack of candour on Bromley's part would explain the change in the incumbent's demeanour when he discovered the visitor's real errand. And he was no tyrant in asking for the customary fees. Most clergymen will gladly show their old Register to an antiquarian caller. But if he is pursuing a claim to a gold-mine, or even to a lead-mine, the cleric will want his small commission.[1]

Another reason for the cautious attitude of Mr. Master. The mere mention of the Duxbury estates would stir up memories of old trouble and vistas of future trouble.

Certain disturbances had taken place in 1813-14 which would still be remembered and spoken about in Chorley.

[1] For customary fees see Phillimore, *Pedigree Work*, p. 38.



[L. Berry and Son, Chorley.

CHORLEY CHURCH IN 1859.

Even the new rector might have heard of them. For, although instituted as incumbent of the old Parish Church as recently as August 27, 1846, the Rev. James Streynsham Master had formerly been curate of St George's, Chorley.[1] After the death of the last baronet in 1812, one Thomas Standish, a weaver or collier, with his friends took possession of Duxbury Hall. Though he was evicted by a troop of dragoons, tried and imprisoned, popular sympathy was on his side and long afterwards demonstrations were made in his favour. He revived his claim in 1825, and other claimants appeared in 1835. These disputes may help to account for the discouragement Mr. Bromley received when he confessed that he was consulting the Chorley Register in behalf of the descendants of Captain Standish. But whatever view be taken of the attitude of Mr. Master, it must be remembered that Myles did not mention Duxbury in his will, nor claim any part of the Duxbury Park estates. It will now be shown that he claimed something else which the Standishes of the Park never possessed.

[1] He was licensed in 1826, Chester Diocesan Registry.

CHAPTER III.

The Standishes of Ormskirk and of Man.

THE third statement set forth above, now to be substantiated, is that the lands which Captain Myles Standish referred to in his will constituted the estate of a Standish family once resident in Ormskirk.

In the year 1912, the present writer, while turning over the pages of a manuscript volume in the Chetham Library at Manchester, in a search for something else, came upon this item in a calendar of deeds:

Rentale Margarete Standysshe, vidue, p' an. integrum, A.D. 1529. Ormskirk, Borscoghe, Croston, Mawdisley, Wryghtington, Newburghe. . . . [1]

There flashed at once into the writer's mind the identity of these townships or hamlets with the places named in the will of Captain Myles Standish; and further search led to the discovery, not easily and all at once, but gradually and from various sources, of about thirty transcribed deeds and a host of other references, all pertaining to the estate of a line of Standishes descended from the stock at Standish Hall, but as far back as the fifteenth century quite distinct from the parent house. These deeds do not mention Myles Standish; but in the mind of the writer they leave no doubt that, in so far as circumstantial evidence can give certainty, Captain Myles Standish belonged to a branch of the Standishes that was settled from 1440, if not earlier, at Ormskirk, in the hundred of West Derby. The six places in Lancashire to which Captain Myles refers in his will were the places in which

[1] Piccope MSS., Vol. 3, p. 42. See a later chapter for other deeds.

the Standishes of this branch held land, and they seem to have held nowhere else. A clinching bit of evidence is found in the fact that some members of this branch settled in the Isle of Man.

From the deeds mentioned, and from other sources, it is now possible to give an account of this family and their estates.

The earliest member of the family definitely described as of Ormskirk is the William Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, mentioned in lawsuits in 1444 and 1446.

A little earlier a certain Huan Standish is found. Huan is practically the same as Ewan or Evan (Vanus), so these two men, William and Huan, may be the father and son mentioned in a deed of 1481.[1]

It should be noted, however, that a Van Standish was surety for a fine to be paid by Robert Barton of West Derby as early as 1429 (Pal. of Lanc. Plea Roll, 2, m. 38). Huan Standish was a witness at Ormskirk on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 15 Henry VI. [February 2, 1436-7].[2] Ewan Standish was witness to an oath in Ormskirk church in 1446.[3]

Before passing on it may be interesting to record some of the activities of the aforesaid William Standish.

In 1444, there was a lawsuit between the Charnock and Dalton families. Henry Charnock sued a number of people for waylaying and maltreating him at Charnock Richard, the township where he resided and was lord of a moiety of the manor. The defendants in the case were Richard Dalton, Vicar of Croston, Thomas Dalton of Croston, gentleman, William Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, and others belonging to Croston, Newburgh, Lathom and Burscough.[4] The case shows that William Standish

[1] Deeds, No. 1. Below p. 99.

[2] Townley MSS., DD. 210, 241.

[3] *Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Ches.*, Vol. 14, N.S. Scarisbrick Deeds, No. 162.

[4] Pal. Lanc. Plea R. 6, m. 2*b*; see m. 5 and m. 27 for continuation.

associated with the Daltons, who were among the smaller gentry of the county.

Two years later, William was involved in another suit. William Gerard was plaintiff against Roger Gerard of Ince, gentleman, William Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, and others belonging to Wigan, Haigh, and Standish, for taking away a horse and other possessions from Ince. This looks like a horse-stealing case, but may have been a distraint for debt.

We have then a William Standish of Ormskirk and an Evan Standish contemporaries in 1446. A third member of the family, Hugh (Hugo), was prominent in the locality somewhat later. Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, was accused of breaking into the closes of Henry Atherton, who had lands in Bickerstaffe, Burscough, Ormskirk, etc. The case was tried in Lent, 16 Edward IV. [1476-7].[2] Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, was also accused with Elizabeth Fletcher, widow, and William Fletcher, of having disseised James Ormskirk. He was tried in Lent, 23 Edward IV. [1483].[3] He appears to have varied these lively proceedings with acts of piety; for Thomas, Earl of Derby, and others founded a chantry at the altar of Our Lady in Ormskirk church, at some time during the latter half of the fifteenth century, and among the founders appears the name of Hugh Standish. The chantry was endowed with lands in Aughton and Ormskirk.[4]

The first reference to the family estate occurs in 1481, when only two places, Ormskirk and Newburgh, are mentioned. The messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services there were on May 20, 21 Edward IV. [1481], in possession of the Hugh already referred to; and a certain Evan (Vanus) Standish of Warrington, son of William Standish, deceased, released to Hugh all his right and claim to them. Hamlet Atherton, Esq., Geoffrey Hulme, Gilbert

[1] Plea R. 9, m. 1*b*.
[2] Plea R. 44.
[3] Plea R. 57, m. 15*d*.
[4] *Valor Eccles.* Rec. Com. V, p. 223.

Gerard, and others were witnesses to this quitclaim deed.[1] It may perhaps be conjectured that Hugh was a younger son of William Standish, and that his elder brother Huan or Evan renounced his rights because he had left the locality.

Twenty years afterwards the family estate was held by Gilbert Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman. By a deed dated at Ormskirk June 11, 17 Henry VII. [1502], the estate, now described as messuages, cottages, lands, and tenements, with appurtenances, was settled on Gilbert for life, with remainder to Robert Standish, his son and heir, and the heirs of the said Robert and Margaret Croft, daughter and heir of Robert Croft. Ormskirk and Newburgh are still the only two places named where lands are held. This settlement, probably made in connection with Robert's marriage to Margaret, was witnessed by Sir Henry Halsall, Knight, Thomas Hesketh, Esq., Thomas Atherton, Esq., and others. Peter Gerard and Richard Hulme, clerks, were feoffees.[2]

The prior and canons of Burscough had estates in the district, and from the Priory rentals we learn that the Standish family of Ormskirk held land for which a quit-rent was paid to the canons, and, after the dissolution, to the Crown. Some accounts are still preserved in the Public Record Office, and those already examined furnish interesting particulars.

In 1512, Robert Standish (evidently Gilbert's son), was in possession of the Standish of Ormskirk estates. The Burscough Priory Rental for that year, which continued in use for some time, with emendations written in as occasion arose, is still extant.[3] The free tenants paid to the Prior, as has been said, small quit-rents or rents of assize, and frequently sublet their holdings. In Burscough

[1] Deeds, No. 1, p. 99.
[2] Deeds, No. 2, p. 99.
[3] Duchy of Lanc. Rentals, etc., bundle 4, No. 7 and No. 8.

at this date Robert Standish was a free tenant, and paid sixpence quit-rent for a tenement. His sub-tenant was Richard Fereman (Ferryman), who paid the quit-rent on Robert's behalf. Among the tenants at will in Burscough appears also a certain Matilda Standish, who cannot be identified. She paid two shillings rent for her holding, and was apparently succeeded in her tenancy by a certain John Lathum in favour of whom her name is crossed out in the rental. It should be noted, however, that her name re-appears as "Mowde Standish" in the rental for 1522. So possibly Lathom was a sub-tenant.

In the new rental of Burscough Priory made in 1524, the Standish of Ormskirk tenements were still in the possession of Robert Standish or had just passed from his hands. The Burscough list gives him as before paying 6d. quit-rent by his sub-tenant Richard Ferreman. But in the Ormskirk list the widow (*relicta*) of Robert Standish pays a free rent of seven shillings and ninepence. This is an amount that recurs in later rentals.[1]

We may deduce from this rental that Robert, son of Gilbert, had died about this time; and, possibly, that his heir was a minor and that the land was held in his mother's name.

The brief abstract of a rental of the lands of Margaret Standish, Robert's widow, shows that in 1529 the estate was located not only in Ormskirk, Burscough, and Newburgh, as formerly, but in Croston, Mawdesley, and Wrightington as well. We may perhaps surmise that the lands in these latter townships came from the Croft family by Margaret's marriage with Robert Standish. No details are given in the rental, but only the total sum, which is, "except. lib'o redd.," £3. 12s. 10d.[2] The sum is not a very large one, even allowing for the different value of modern money. We have no means of deciding whether

[1] Duchy Rental, b. 5, No. 16; both in this and later rentals the tenement of Ralph Standish of Standish in Ormskirk is mentioned; the rent was 12d., and the sub-tenant Peter Standish.

[2] Deeds, No. 3, p. 100.

it represents the rents of the whole estate, or only of the third part usually held by the widow. But for the first time all the Lancashire townships mentioned by Captain Myles Standish in his will are named in conjunction with the family of Standish of Ormskirk.

In the next mention made of the family estates we find a Thomas Standish, heir of Robert Standish, in possession.

The account of the profits of Burscough Priory for 1535-6, the first year after the dissolution, when the Priory and its appurtenances were taken into the King's hands (in which condition they remained for ten years), has been preserved.[1]

The fullest account of the possessions of the Standish of Ormskirk family appears in this statement. Among the assize or quit-rents of the free tenants we find under the head of Ormskirk :—

7s. 9d. from the free rent of Thomas Standyshe, heir of Robert Standysshe, for land etc. in Ormskirk, in the tenure of Richard Colynson.

12d. from the free rent of the same Thomas for his land there lately Maggotes Egeacre in the tenure of the same Richard Colynson.

3s. from the free rent of the same Thomas for Mercersfelde.

9d. from the free rent of the same Thomas for land called Myttonsland.

Then further on, in the list of tenants in Burscough, the sixpence free rent is mentioned " of the heir of Robert Standishe" for land in Burscough in the tenure of Richard Feryman.

This most interesting return gives us the names of two sub-tenants of the Standishes of Ormskirk, one in Ormskirk, Richard Colynson, and one in Burscough, as before, Richard Feryman. We have also three field-names or titles of tenements in Ormskirk given, Maggotes Egeacre, Myttonsland and Mercersfelde. The last appears later in a deed of sale. The first means perhaps " Margaret's

[1] Duchy of Lancs. Mins. Accts., b. 136, No. 2198.

Edgeacre." The widow of Robert Standish (and presumably the mother of Thomas) was called Margaret. Edgeacre is a name which occurs in many deeds relating to the district. There were more Edgeacres than one; an Edgeacre in Burscough was according to this same bailiff's account in the tenure of Sir James Stanley. No doubt the land called by that name lay in both Ormskirk and Burscough, and was divided into two or more tenements. Lands called Edgeacres were at a very early date granted to the prior of Burscough.[1] The importance of field-names is very great, as they often enable us to identify lands which have changed owners. The Mercersfelde, or Merchant's Field, mentioned above among the possessions of Thomas Standish in 1536, was sold in 1572 by Hugh Standish, gentleman, his son and heir, to William Stopford of Bispham.[2] The other field-names given may yet furnish useful clues.

In 1539, Thomas Standish is still found in possession of the estate, and his wife Jane or Joan is mentioned. On July 18, 1539, Thomas Standish of Ormskirk mortgaged or sold for £10 a messuage and lands in Wrightington, of the clear value of 16s. over all manner of charges which Jane, wife of the said Thomas, had in the same tenement. Nevertheless, if Thomas or his heirs should wish to buy back the premises, they might do so on due warning and repayment within ten years. George Nelson, the purchaser, entered into a bond to keep true to these indentures. Four years afterwards a messuage in Wrightington in mortgage was surrendered to Thomas Standish of Ormskirk by George Nelson. The tenants had been William Hesketh and Alice Robinson.[3]

On July 7, 32 Henry VIII. [1540], a family settlement was made, the record of which is perhaps the most im-

[1] V.C.H. Lancs., III., 262*n*.

[2] Deeds, No. 25, p. 106.

[3] Deeds, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, pp. 100-102.

portant deed yet discovered, for it names not only Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, but his two brothers, John and Huan, and in addition his own daughter Anne. In the feoffment Thomas gave his messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, and all hereditaments whatsoever in Ormskirk, Burscough, Wrightington, Newburgh, Mawdesley, and Croston, or elsewhere in the County of Lancaster, to trustees, the first of whom was the rector of Aughton. The estate was for the use of Thomas himself for his life, and afterwards during five years for the use of Anne his daughter, provided always that if John, the brother of Thomas, or anyone else who was next heir to Thomas, paid Anne £20, the trustees were to hold the estate for the use of John or the next heir. After the five years, the estate was to be held for the use of the right heir of Thomas legitimately begotten; in default, for the use of John, the brother already mentioned, and his legitimate heirs; in default, for the use of Huan, brother of the aforesaid Thomas, and the heirs of Huan. This settlement was sealed by Thomas Standish. Those who afterwards sold the estate may have infringed this trust, and it is very probable that Capt. Myles Standish claimed lands by virtue of the remainders in this very deed.[1]

In 1543, a person appeared on the scene who was destined to have a fateful influence on the fortunes of Standish of Ormskirk. This was a gentleman named William Stopford, sometimes described as of Merton, or Martin in Burscough, and later as of Bispham (the Bispham near Burscough), a township in Croston parish. He was at one time secretary to the Earl of Derby, and is probably the William Stopford who farmed Eccleston rectory in Leyland hundred, and whose gravestone, dated 1584, may be seen in Eccleston churchyard. He was evidently a man of wealth and influence, and he seems to have acquired in parcels part, and perhaps all, of the estate of the Standishes of Ormskirk. The transfer began in the time of the Thomas Standish already mentioned.

[1] Deeds, No. 7, p. 101.

On May 10, 35 Henry VIII. [1543], Thomas Standish, for divers considerations and £10, sold to William Stopford of Merton all his messuages in Wrightington, lately in the tenure of William Hesketh, Alice Robinson, and Robert Finch. An annual rent of 7s. was to be paid to Thomas and his heirs at Pentecost and at the Feast of St. Martin, in equal portions. Thomas appointed Richard Mason of Latham and Richard Prescot as attorneys to deliver possession, and was bound in £60 to Stopford to keep the covenant made.[1] It was probably this annual rent of 7s. from holdings in Wrightington that Thomas Standish of Ormskirk granted to William Stopford for the sum of £5. 3s. 4d. on April 24, 37 Henry VIII. [1545].[2]

Ill fortune was evidently dogging the steps of Thomas Standish. He was parting with his estate, and moreover, if deed No. 14 refers to him, he was unhappy in his domestic life. In 1558 (1548 is crossed out in Piccope's transcript), this latter trouble reached its culmination; for on November 20 in that year John Hanson, M.A., Archdeacon of Richmond, pronounced sentence of divorce between Thomas Standish of Ormskirk parish and Jane (Joanna) Stanley, otherwise Standish, of the same parish. The reason given for the divorce was that Thomas was not nine years old and Jane not eleven years old when they were married.[3]

This document is difficult to understand; surely it must be, in some way, an erroneous summary of the case. Child-marriages of the kind were often dissolved when the parties grew up and refused to ratify the arrangements of their parents; but a case of this kind, where they had lived together (apparently) for nearly twenty years, and where there was issue, the Hugh afterwards mentioned, strikes one as suspicious.

The Act Book and the Deposition Book of the Ecclesiastical Court at Chester have been searched without result for the divorce named in No. 14. We can hardly think

[1] Deeds, Nos. 10, 11, p. 102.

[2] Deeds, Nos. 12, 13, p. 103.

[3] Deeds, No. 14, p. 103.

that the reason given for dissolving a juvenile and unratified marriage would be adduced, or would be deemed sufficient, in regard to the divorce of those who had cohabited for a long period. So perhaps the Thomas of the divorce was not Thomas the father of Hugh, but a relative; and, if so, it would follow that the Joan of the divorce was not Hugh's mother Joan. Or is the alleged divorce, No. 14, a forgery?

A contemporary of Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, and perhaps a "poor relation," is mentioned in a deed belonging to Mr. James Bromley, of The Homestead, Lathom. It appears thus in his library catalogue:

"14 Oct. 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, 1557.[1] Indenture of lease between Peter Stanley of Biconstath, Esq., and Edward Standishe of Ormeskyke, 'corviser' [shoemaker], and Jane his wife, of londe, medow, and pasture in Ormeskyke called Awaynes Feld for 21 years. Rent: eightpence payable half-yearly. Witnesses: William Pyle of Lyvepoll, Robert Byckerstythe of Byckerstathe, Thomas Jackson, and Edward Standish of Ormskirk. 1 monogram seal. 1 missing."

The divorce is the last we hear of Thomas Standish. There is another gap in the records, but in the course of time his son and successor Hugh Standish is found in possession of the estates. On November 20, 9 Elizabeth [1566], Hugh Standish, late of Wigan, gentleman, son and heir of Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, surrenders his right and claim to a messuage in Wrightington, in the tenure of Margaret Hesketh, widow, and Robert Hesketh, to William Stopford of Bispham.[2] This refers to the land sold by his father, and we may infer that Thomas had recently died and had been succeeded by Hugh. Jane

[1] The date should be 1556. The abstract would suggest that there were two people called Edward Standish, the lessee and a witness. Neither can be at present identified, but the name occurs among the Manx Standishes, p. 40.

[2] Deeds, No. 15, p. 103.

(Joanna) Standish, widow of Thomas Standish, late of Ormskirk, appears again on August 10, 1569, when she quitclaims to her son Hugh (Hugo) all right and claim that ever she had in all messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Ormskirk, Burscough, Newburgh, or elsewhere in the county. A few days afterwards, August 14, 1569, Hugh granted to his mother Jane for life an annuity of 40s. out of all his messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Ormskirk.[1]

Hugh now began a series of transactions with William Stopford in which the estate of Standish of Ormskirk seems to have been bartered away. By a final concord made at Lancaster on Monday in the fourth week of Lent, 12 Elizabeth [March 6, 1569-70], he sold or mortgaged to William Stopford and Roger Sonkey, for £40, 3 messuages, 4 cottages, 4 orchards, 26 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture, 4 acres of meadow, 40 acres of moor, and 8 acres of turbary in Wrightington, Newburgh, Ormskirk, and Burscough. Hugh granted them to William and Roger and to the heirs of William.[2] About a year later, on February 12, 13 Elizabeth [1570-1], we find Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, leasing land in Ormskirk for twenty-one years to William Heiton of Birchley, Esq.[3] On March 8, 13 Elizabeth [1570-1], Hugh Standish, son of Thomas Standish, deceased, granted for £66 13s. 4d. to William Stopford of Bispham all those messuages, lands, tenements, rents, services, and hereditaments whatsoever, which were his in Ormskirk.[4] On June 13, 13 Elizabeth [1571], Hugh was bound in an immense sum for those days, £200, to William Stopford, to keep covenants specified in indentures relating to Hugh's land "in the town of Ormskirk."[5] A final concord was also made between them on the Monday after the Feast of St. Bartholomew

[1] Deeds, Nos. 16, 17, p. 104.
[2] Deeds, No. 18, p. 104.
[3] Deeds, No. 19, p. 104.
[4] Deeds, No. 20, p. 105.
[5] Deeds, No. 21, p. 105.

13 Elizabeth [August 27, 1571], concerning tenements in Ormskirk. Hugh granted to William 6 messuages there and 4 cottages, 10 tofts, 6 gardens, 6 orchards, 12 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture, 1 acre of wood, and 5 acres of moor. But William regranted to Hugh for life part of the said tenements, viz., 4 messuages, 2 tofts, 3 gardens, 3 orchards, 6 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of pasture.[1]

William Stopford now made it his care to secure the consent and quitclaim of those interested in the estate of Standish of Ormskirk in respect to these bargains with Hugh. The most interesting release is that given by John Standish of the Isle of Man. This is highly important, since it shows that at least one member of the family of Standish of Ormskirk settled in the Isle of Man; thus making more probable the view taken by the writer that Captain Myles Standish belonged to this branch.

In a deed dated 1572, John Standish of the Isle of Man, for divers considerations and sums of money paid him by William Stopford of Bispham, releases to the latter all his rights in all those messuages, lands, and tenements which lately were in the possession of Robert Standish, late of Ormskirk, and all those messuages, lands, and tenements which William Stopford has by the gift and feoffment of Hugh Standish, late of Ormskirk, son and heir of Thomas deceased. The lands, etc., were in the vills or hamlets of Ormskirk and Wrightington.[2] Another deed which is dated April 20, 1572, is either a duplicate differently abstracted or a release from another John Standish living in the Isle of Man. There were at least two persons of this name living in the island somewhat later, as we shall see presently. In this second release the lands, etc., are described as lately in the possession of Thomas Standish, late of Ormskirk, gentleman, and as lying in the vills of Ormskirk, Wrightington, Parbold, Croston, and Mawdesley. Parbold is perhaps a mistake for Newburgh. Another

[1] Deeds, No. 22, p. 105.
[2] Deeds, No. 23, p. 106.

place, " Kerschagh," appears in the marginal heading, and may be an error for Burscough.[1] In this deed John Standish is described as a gentleman.

On October 3, 14 Elizabeth [1572], Hugh Standish sold to William Stopford the Mersers Field in Ormskirk.[2] This field has already been mentioned in 1536. A further grant and concession is dated January 29, 18 Elizabeth [1575-6]; in this deed Ormskirk only is mentioned, but the bargaining away of the family interest there would seem to be comprehensive and absolute. Hugh Standish, late of Wigan, gentleman (the reversion to the old description is noteworthy), grants to William Stopford of Bispham, gentleman, all and singular those messuages, lands, tenements, rents, services, and whatsoever hereditaments he holds in the vill of Ormskirk. He also concedes any claim that he has in the premises for the term of his life or for a term of years. He makes Roger Sonky and Reginald Mason attorneys to deliver possession.[3]

The Jane or Joan Standish, widow of Thomas, now appears on the scene again, but under a different name. She has evidently married again, and been left a widow a second time. She also has been persuaded by Stopford to renounce any claim to the estate he has purchased. The quitclaim deed, which is dated May 3, 18 Elizabeth [1576], is in English; and by it Joan Scott of Wigan, widow, who stands endowed of the third part of all the messuages, etc., within the town of Ormskirk that were the possessions of Thomas Standish, sometime her husband, or of Hugh Standish her son, grants, for certain sums of money, unto William Stopford of Bispham and his heirs for ever all her estate, right, and demand in the said premises.[4]

Yet another person gave up all claim to the estate in Ormskirk. The deed leaves us to guess whether his

[1] Deeds, No. 24, p. 106.
[2] Deeds, No. 25, p. 106.
[3] Deeds, No. 26, p. 107.
[4] Deeds, No. 27, p. 107.

interest had come through his wife, and if so, who she was. On September 12, 19 Elizabeth [1577], a certain Richard Mosse of Ormskirk granted to William Stopford all right and claim that ever he had in all the messuages, lands, etc., in Ormskirk that were lately the possessions of Hugh Standish or of Thomas Standish his father.[1]

Thus, long before the birth of Captain Myles Standish, a great part, at any rate, of the estate of the Standish family of Ormskirk had been alienated. It is unlikely, however, that Hugh parted with the whole of his estate. The parish registers of Ormskirk show that descendants of Hugh remained in the locality for a long time. A Hugh Standish is prominent in the registers; and, if he be the one mentioned above, he must have been young when (about 1566) he inherited the estate and began bartering it away. Several children of Hugh were baptised at Ormskirk, Ann in 1591, Edith in 1592, Jane in 1595, and one without name in 1599. A child of Hugh was buried in 1600. Hugh Standish himself was buried December 10, 1606, in the high chancel, an honor commonly reserved for benefactors. It will be recalled that his ancestor had contributed to the founding of a chantry. A Grace Standish was buried in the high chancel in 1620. Many other Standishes are named in the registers.[2]

One might naturally expect to find in the Ormskirk registers the baptismal record of Myles Standish, but it is not there. The registers, however, are defective, like those of Chorley. But Capt. Myles was probably not a son of the Hugh who sold the estates; for this Hugh does not appear to have held lands in the Isle of Man, and his successor at Ormskirk seems to have been a Henry Standish. Nor did Thomas, Hugh's father, claim any Manx estate.

The Standishes of the Isle of Man.

Now if Myles Standish was not a descendant of Thomas Standish, the father of Hugh, attention is naturally directed

[1] Deeds, No. 28, p. 107.

[2] See Appendix, "Later Standishes at Ormskirk," p. 109.

to the two brothers of Thomas mentioned in the latter's settlement of 1540, namely, John and Huan.

Of John nothing definite is known. Huan settled in the Isle of Man. As Myles Standish claimed the estate of the Ormskirk Standishes and also land in Man, he was probably a descendant of Huan, son of Robert Standish. It is a remarkable fact that "Huyn Standish" was a landowner in Man. In 1540, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, he held a tenement in Sulby, consisting of lands belonging to Rushen Abbey. He paid to the Abbey a rent of 24s., as the Computus shows. The Standish estate in this locality, afterwards known as Ellanbane, continued to be held by the Standishes until the eighteenth century. The name "Ewan" recurs in their pedigree.

There was considerable traffic between Lancashire and the Isle of Man owing to the connection of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, with both. They had large estates near Ormskirk, and they were "Kings" of Man. It has been shown that the Standishes of Ormskirk were allied to one branch of the Stanley family, Thomas Standish having married Joanna Stanley. The interest of the Earls of Derby in the Isle of Man led to the appointment of Lancashire men to various offices in the island. We find Lancashire gentry owning land in Man, and *vice versa* Manx people having Lancashire property. For instance, the Christians of Milntown, ancestors of Illiam Dhone, in 1540 had an interest in lands in Parbold and Wrightington. Mr. Cubbon, who gives this information, points out that two of the signatories to a Standish of Ormskirk deed in 1502, Sir Henry Halsall and Thomas Hesketh, were connected with Man. Halsall was the Steward of Thomas, Earl of Derby, and Hesketh was his lordship's Receiver. General Halsall's family had land at Ballasalla, which still bears their name.

Mr. Cubbon also contributes the interesting discovery that William Stopforth who, by fair means or foul, obtained the Standish of Ormskirk estates, was in the Isle of Man in

1561; and as Secretary and Commissioner of Edward, Earl of Derby, signed the "Book of Orders" at Castletown in that year.

These facts indicate the close connection between Man and western Lancashire, and explain the migration to the island of some of the Standishes of Ormskirk.

Owing to the difficulties of research in the Isle of Man, it has not been possible to draw up a full account of the Manx Standishes. But the items that have been collected indicate that there was more than one branch there in the reign of Henry VIII.

In the Manx Manorial Rolls, under the year 1511, there appear, below the heading "Cottages in Castletown," an Edward Standysh, who paid 2s. 4d. for one room, and also a Peter Standysh. Both names occur at Ormskirk somewhat later.[1]

The Manx historian, Mr. A. W. Moore, says that a branch of the Standishes of Standish Hall in Lancashire had settled in the Isle of Man, first at Pulrose in Braddan, and then at Ellanbane in Lezayre, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, where they held a quantity of intack property in addition to Ellanbane. Mr. Moore gives no evidence to shew that they came from Standish Hall. He adds that there is still a curragh (lough) called Standish's Curragh.[2]

The Standish family of Ellanbane which, as indicated, more probably descended from the Standishes of Ormskirk, appears to have been founded by Huan, the younger brother of Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, the son of Robert and Margaret Standish, and grandson of Gilbert.

Huan Standish was succeeded by a John Standish, no doubt the same John who released the Ormskirk estates to William Stopford in 1572. It is possible that he was Huan's brother John, mentioned in the settlement of 1540; but perhaps more likely that he was a son or grandson of Huan.

[1] See pages 29, 34.

[2] *Manx Worthies*, 1901, p. 205.

John Standish was coroner of the Sheading called Kirk Christ in Lezayre in 1579; and in the same year was sued by the minister of Lezayre parish for withholding tithe. He was a Member of the House of Keys in 1593 and succeeding years. Two years later, John Standish the elder and John Standish the younger were fined for beating Christopher Garrett or Gerrard, and ordered to pay him 4s. 8d. in consideration of his hurt and broken head.[1]

In 1607, John Standish held land, formerly belonging Rushen Abbey, in Kirk Christ, Lezayre. He paid 8s. 6d. rent, a much smaller sum than that formerly paid by Huan Standish.

Perhaps John died about this time; for in a rental of the same year William Standish is given as tenant, and he pays a fine of £5 in two portions. William also occurs in a list of those who have compounded in Lezayre, where his fine is stated as £6, and his rent 8s. 6d. In succeeding years, William regularly appears as tenant in Sulby, parish of Kirk Christ, Lezayre.[2]

There is a very curious deed dated August 20, 1609, and enrolled in 1629. Gilbert Standish, full brother to John Standish, late deceased, granted to "my loving cozen," William Standish, the younger, Gilbert's right to all his goods, edifices, easements, commons, and chattels, in return for two little crofts of 8d. rent lying near William's ground. Gilbert reserved the right to bestow or bequeath the 8d. rent upon whomsoever he pleased.

William, in turn, covenanted to give, "unto my grandfather his brother," two days mowing of hay in Close Nappan, the one for his life, and the other at the disposition of his last will.

The deed is between two men: "we have both parties written our names." But after Gilbert's mark, and before that of William, there comes another signature, "Christian Standish alias Lane my sign."[3]

The grandfather's brother is not mentioned by name. Is he to be identified with Gilbert? or with this other signatory? Christian seems to have been a feminine name in the island. If so here, it would seem more natural to conclude that Christian was Gilbert's wife.

[1] Particulars from "Liber Cancellar'" in Rolls Office, Douglas.

[2] Details from "Liber Monaster'" in Record Office, Douglas.

[3] "Liber Cancellar'."

The people mentioned in this deed were contemporaries of Myles Standish, and were probably closely related to him.

In 1630, John Standish of Kirk Christ in the Ayre, claimed the moiety of certain parcels of intack in the possession of William Standish, his brother. The brothers were joint executors of the last will of John Standish, their father, who had held on lease from the lord. Commissioners appointed in the case decided that it was against the lord's interest to divide the lands. They were to be given to William; but in respect of the great poverty of John, his wife, and their small children, William was ordered to give John the cottage wherein he dwelt and the tenant right in a moiety of one-half-close in Sulby, called Close Moor, of 8s. 6d. rent, with the corn crop standing on the one half. John was to pay 50s., half the fine for the same, and a rent of 4s. 3d.

John was to assign to William for ever his title to certain intacks in the fells, called Earyartan, of 6s. rent, which he had lately recovered by jury from his said brother.[1]

The two brothers, William and John, sons of John Standish, were prominent during the first half of the seventeenth century. Close Moor is frequently mentioned in their deeds.

As the question of the religion of Myles Standish has been keenly discussed, it is noteworthy that several members of this branch of the family were clergy of the Church of England. About 1600, William Standish the older was vicar of Andreas, Isle of Man. A John Standish, son of William, was vicar of Lezayre about 1640.[2]

The Manx Standishes continued to bear a part in local government; William Standish was a Member of the House of Keys, 1629, and in succeeding years. One of the name, described as William Standish of Ellanbane, gave depositions concerning the execution of Capt. William Christian in 1662.[3] This William Standish appears to have taken sides against the Countess of Derby. A John Standish, probably his son, was a member of the House of Keys in 1651 and took an active part in the rising on the Island when the Manxmen declared for the Parliament.

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[1] "Liber Cancellar'," 1617-33, p. 21.

[2] Manx Society Vols. See also p. 9.

[3] *Ib.*, Vol. 26, p. 18.

He was probably lieutenant or cornet in the Lezayre militia. He was present at the capture of Peel Castle under Capt. Radcliffe, and took a flag of truce there with the ostensible object of parleying with Major Woods, the commandant. His real purpose was to speak with the garrison in the Manx tongue, and to secure their defection in the night assault during which the castle was taken.

William appears to have been succeeded by his son John, who was also, as already mentioned, a member of the House of Keys. John died about 1672. His daughter, Christian Standish, married Captain William Christian, who died about 1709. The Ellanbane estate came to her descendants, who were known as the Standish Christians. Mr. Standish Christian of Ellanbane was M.H.K. in 1768. The grounds of Ellanbane are picturesque, and the chief house pleasantly situated. The estate has passed out of the ownership of the Christian family.

Both Mr. Moore and Mr. Cubbon speak of the entire disappearance of the family in Man. Mr. Cubbon remarks on the persistence of the name in sayings still current, in Lezayre parish, such as " Juan beg Standish," " Standish's Meadow," " As bony as Standish's old mare."[1]

There is a tradition in Man that Rose and Barbara, the successive wives of Myles Standish, were members of a Standish family settled on the island. The story probably came from America. Winsor's History of Duxbury, p. 97, describing the efforts made by Mr. Bromley in 1846-7 adds :

"As it was said that the Captain married his first wife in the Isle of Man, this island was visited with hopes of discovering there his marriage registered, but without success, as no records of a date early enough were to be found."

Moore alludes to the belief that the wives came from Lezayre, and that their maiden name was Standish. As the Lezayre Standishes were thought to be a branch from Standish Hall, and Myles claimed to belong to the

[1] *Isle of Man Examiner*, 27th June, 1914.

Standishes of Standish, Moore was of the opinion that Myles and his Manx wives were probably cousins, but states that a diligent search in the Manx manorial records has failed to discover the names of Rose, Barbara, Myles, or Alexander.

For the information that the Captain's wives were connected with the Isle of Man, Moore quotes among his authorities, information from Belknap (orig. ed. Boston, 1794) per Mr. Frowde; and the Rev. W. Ball Wright.

He has a somewhat unreliable authority, namely Abbott's "Puritan Captain," for the statement that Barbara, who is said to have been Rose's sister, was "left an orphan in England" when the Mayflower sailed. The *Ency. Brit.*, in the article on Myles Standish, also says that Barbara was the sister of Rose. Other informants, American correspondents, in letters to the present writer, speak of Barbara, who was, it is said, the mother of all the Captain's children, as the cousin, not the sister, of Rose.

If he married his deceased wife's sister, he could hardly have spoken of Alexander as his "heire apparent by lawfull Decent." The 99th Canon of 1603 declared marriages within the degrees prohibited unlawful and void from the beginning. But the marriage of cousins was not forbidden.

Moore remarks that there are no Manx Church Registers early enough to contain Rose's marriage (said to be about 1619). The Ballaugh Register begins in 1598, but at first contains only baptisms and burials. Neither a Rose nor a Barbara is mentioned under the first category.

CHAPTER IV.

The Captain's Descent from Standish of Standish,

AND HIS CONNECTION WITH DUXBURY.

Having examined Myles Standish's assertion as to his lost estate, and ascertained the branch of the family to which he belonged, let us revert to the second claim set up in his will, and to the question of his descent. This statement that his great-grandfather was a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish is tantalisingly vague. "Second or younger" may be equivalents or alternatives; and why does Myles not give the name of his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather?

It has already been pointed out that strictly "Standish of Standish" excludes Duxbury. Some, however, consider that Myles meant Standish of Standish parish, including Duxbury. Whether Standish be used in the manorial or parochial sense, can a claim of descent from either of the two major families be harmonised with Myles's other claim to lands which were in fact the possessions of the Standish family of Ormskirk?

If "great-grandfather" means only remote ancestor there is not much difficulty, as the Ormskirk branch was no doubt founded from Duxbury or from Standish Hall.

But if Myles means literally that he was a descendant in the fourth generation of a Standish of the Hall or the Park great difficulties appear.

American writers have sometimes erred in imagining that there was but one Standish family in Lancashire, or at most two.

The question inevitably arises, did Capt. Myles share in this general confusion?

The answer to this depends on the response we give to another question, namely, did he believe himself in his will to be claiming the chief estates of the main branch of the family? or, on the other hand, was he intelligently claiming the lands belonging to a younger branch?

He connects the loss of his lands with his pedigree by adding "my great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish."

A first reading suggests that he is claiming the estates of Standish of Standish. If there is no other meaning possible, then we must conclude that Myles was not well-informed about the matter, for investigation shows that these lost lands were not the estates of Standish of Standish.

Another interpretaton of the words of the will is to take the Captain's statement as a claim, not to the chief estates of the main branch, but to the possessions of a younger son, creator or replenisher of a younger branch.

As the representatives of a younger brother inherit the chief estates only by default, and no default in the elder brother's line is mentioned in the will, such an interpretation is quite permissible.

Again, very slight acquaintance with Lancashire would suffice to show that the estates of Standish of Standish were at Standish, and those of the Duxbury Standishes were at Duxbury. The very titles of the families might reasonably lead to such an inference. But the Captain did not claim lands in either of these places.

Myles is said to have been a native of the county. Besides, the fact that he names seven places in Lancashire and uses such a phrase as "the house of Standish of Standish" restrains us from thinking that he imagined there was but one family, the name of which was Standish of Standish, the homestead of which was at Duxbury, and the lands of which were at Ormskirk.

If we are to harmonise his claim of descent from one of the two major Standish families with his alleged title to

the Ormskirk lands, we must understand him to mean that his father's grandfather came from Standish Hall or Duxbury, and became entitled by partition, purchase, or in some other way, to an estate elsewhere, not the chief inheritance.

We are met by the difficulty that a Standish of Ormskirk family was already established in the middle of the fifteenth century. If Myles was born in 1584, it is barely possible, but extremely unlikely, that his grandfather's father could have been an adult in 1444, and therefore born as early as 1424. If it were at all feasible, then we might conclude that William Standish of Ormskirk, presumably the founder of the family there, was the ancestor Myles had in mind, and was a son of the squire of Standish in 1424 or thereabouts.

But this would leave a long period, 1424-1584, to be covered by four new generations. It would require that the average age of the great-grandfather, grandfather, and father of Myles when their respective sons were born should be about 53. If the first ancestor named was born about 1424 and was 53 when the grandfather was born, this would bring us to the year 1477. Add 53 to this and we get 1530 as the possible date of the birth of Myles Standish's father, who would then be about 54 when Myles was born in 1584.

It is unlikely that William Standish, an adult in 1444, was the great-grandfather of Myles. But the branch at Ormskirk may have died out after its first foundation, and received a second founder in a scion from the Standish Hall stock, who was both the great-grandfather of Myles, and also the rightful owner of the Ormskirk estate.

We cannot draw the Standish of Ormskirk pedigree in unbroken succession from the William Standish just mentioned; so that such a renewal of the Ormskirk branch may have taken place. Similar renewals occur from time to time in the history of the Standishes of Shevington. But it must be confessed that there is no evidence of such a change in the Ormskirk succession.

The heraldic visitations do not give the origin of the Ormskirk branch.

In the Fleetwood of Penwortham pedigree in Flower's Visitation of Lancashire (Chet. Soc. LXXXI. p. 59) it is stated that William Fleetwood, of Heskin, married Helen, daughter of Robert (Gilbert) Standish, "a yonger sonne descended owte of the house of Standishe." The date of the Visitation is 1567, when William's son was in possession of the Penwortham estate, and was married and had a family of seven children living. The later Visitation by St. George in 1613 describes "Ellen" wife of William Fleetwood as daughter of Robert Standish, a younger brother of Standish.

These pedigrees were often carelessly drawn, and the reference may possibly relate to the Ormskirk branch, in which there was a Robert, son of Gilbert, who married about the year 1500.

This doubtful allusion to the Standishes of Ormskirk is the only one brought to light in the heraldic visitations. Enquiry was made at the College of Arms in 1915, and the information elicited that no pedigree of the Standishes of Ormskirk and no grant of arms to them is recorded at the College. Nevertheless they may have borne the arms of one of the older Standish families.

The difficulty in reconciling the Captain's belief that he was descended from the Standishes of Standish with the fact that he was claimant to the lands of another Standish family may possibly be met by the hypothesis that the junior branch at Ormskirk was founded or renewed by a younger son from Standish or Duxbury. There is no definite proof of this, and perhaps we cannot altogether exclude the supposition that there was some vagueness or confusion in his statements.

Another problem consists of the Captain's connection with Duxbury. The new settlement to which Myles Standish and others removed in 1631 received the name Duxbury; and, as has been indicated, this was felt by

many to establish a connection with the Standishes of Duxbury in Lancashire, if indeed it did not amount to a claim of close relationship.

But as to the conclusions to be drawn from the name there is a great difference of opinion among American writers.

One of the first to refer to the matter is an anonymous writer,[1] who as early as 1793 wrote: "The probable etymology [of the name of the New England town] is Dux and borough, or burrow, as it was then written. It being a grant to the Captain or Leader, it was called his borough." This same anonymous writer, though he records that "Capt. Standish . . . . was born in Lancashire in England, and was heir apparent to a great estate," adds to his explanation of the name of the town the significant footnote: "Many towns in Plymouth Colony are called after places in England, from which the first settlers came. Though there is a town of this name in England, it is said, that no persons, who first came to Plymouth, were from that place."

Later authors trace some connection with the Lancashire Duxbury.

The late Justin Winsor wrote: "It [the town of Duxbury] received the name of Duxbury out of respect to Captain Standish, from Duxbury Hall, the seat of the Standish family in England;"[2] but that this was merely Mr. Winsor's personal opinion, unsupported by evidence, may be inferred from another statement by him, that this "undoubtedly is the origin of the name of the New England town," and by his expression of dissent from the opinion of the writer quoted above.

Again, Mr. William Henry Whitmore, in his "Essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts,"[3] says that Duxbury was named "in compliment to the Standishes of Duxbury Hall; to which family Miles Standish probably claimed relationship." But although

[1] *Mass. His. Soc. Coll.*, Vol. 2, p. 4.

[2] *Duxbury*, p. 11, 12.

[3] Boston, 1873, p. 17, reprinted from *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XII.

Capt. Myles was one of the leading men in the new settlement, and was a member of a committee to fix boundaries between Plymouth and Duxbury, it does not necessarily follow that Duxbury in England was his birthplace or the home of his family. It may of course be objected, why should the name of the residence of a branch of the family with which he had no near connection be chosen, when, if he was one of the Ormskirk branch, there were plenty of other names associated with his own lands that he might have been expected to prefer.

This is no doubt a difficulty. We do not know the reason of his preference. We cannot explain why Ormskirk was not chosen, or Standish, the village which in his will he seems to imply was the home of his ancestors, as the name of his new settlement in America.

We are thrown back on the several suggestions already made, viz., error, etymology, compliment, among which we must choose, or propound something more feasible. We may take up the position that Myles had some connection with the English Duxbury still undetermined. Though neither a member of the Duxbury Standishes, nor a claimant to any part of their property, he may have been linked with the township in some other way.

Was his mother a Standish of Duxbury? This is improbable, for no alliance between them and the Ormskirk Standishes is mentioned in their deeds and papers. Was she a member of some other family in the township, the family of Anglezark for instance, or that named Duxbury? A Captain Duxbury, as already stated, fought in Flanders about the same time as Myles Standish. If there was a link of this sort, Duxbury may have been Myles's birthplace, though his inheritance lay elsewhere.

Nor is this possibility ruled out, even if we interpret the "Standish of Standish" phrase in his will strictly rather than parochially. It is often overlooked that the Standishes of the Peel or Park did not own the whole of Duxbury. There was in fact another house in the township called Duxbury Hall. It was the residence of a family

bearing the surname, Duxbury, and they sold it in 1524, not to the Standishes of Duxbury Manor, but, strangely enough, to the Standishes of Standish, who held it as a dower house under the very nose of their relatives and rivals. Israel had a city in Philistia.[1] This is mentioned to shew how claims seemingly divergent and contradictory might possibly be reconciled. And also to indicate the intricacy of the whole question, and the need of local knowledge. Standishes of Standish sometimes resided in Duxbury, but in a house of their own; and Duxbury Standishes dwelt in Standish-with-Langtree in Bradley Hall which belonged to themselves.

The results of the researches recorded above may be compressed into a few sentences. The lands which Captain Myles Standish claimed in his will formed the estates of the Standish family of Ormskirk; and it is natural to conclude that he was a member of this family, or of a branch of it which had estates in the Isle of Man.

He was perhaps a grandson of Huan, son of Robert Standish of Ormskirk. Huan was in all probability the same as the Huyn Standish who held land in the Isle of Man in 1540, and either he or a son of his may have returned to Lancashire, where, according to Nathaniel Morton, Myles was born.

Myles claimed descent from Standish of Standish, and the meaning of his statement probably is that the branch to which he belonged was founded or refounded by a younger son from Standish Hall.

The name Duxbury given to the settlement in Plymouth Colony where Captain Standish lived raises a very real difficulty. If it was not bestowed through error, and therefore an invalid claim; and if etymology, spiritual affinity or complimentary reasons do not sufficiently account for it, then Myles had some connection with the Lancashire Duxbury still undiscovered. He was not, however the heir to the Duxbury estates, and did not claim them or any part of them.

[1] Earwaker, *Standish Deeds*, 272, 273, 291, 292, 364. See p. 63.

It is possible, though there is no evidence, that he was born in Duxbury, Lancashire. And if so, this need not invalidate his claim to be descended from Standish of Standish.

TENTATIVE PEDIGREE.

Standish of Ormskirk

WILLIAM STANDISH of Ormskirk, 1444
|
HUGH STANDISH of Ormskirk, 1437–1483
|
GILBERT STANDISH of Ormskirk, 1502
|
ROBERT STANDISH of Ormskirk, = Margaret Croft
1502

THOMAS STANDISH = Joanna — JOHN STANDISH, 1540 — HUAN STANDISH of the Isle of Man, 1540

THOMAS STANDISH of Ormskirk, 1539–1545

HUGH STANDISH of Ormskirk, 1566–1606

from whom probably descended CAPT. MYLES STANDISH

CHAPTER V.

Longfellow's "Courtship of Miles Standish,"

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LANCASHIRE ALLUSIONS.

LONGFELLOW has drawn a portrait of Myles Standish, which some regard with sorrow and even with anger. And why? Because it shews a hero with weaknesses that excite laughter.

Standish, brave in battle, is shy in love, the more so because, having his russet beard already flaked with snow, he is fond of the youthful Priscilla. He is so inexpert that he woos by deputy, forgetting all about his favourite maxim "Serve yourself, would you be well served." And when he is rejected, and the deputy, his friend John Alden chosen, the Captain goes off like a hand-grenade, and calls John a second Brutus.

Such a subject might indeed be treated ludicrously, but this is not Longfellow's way, at least in the opinion of the present writer.

Others have thought differently. "It is dangerous to laugh at a hero," says Dr. Mackennal, in "Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers," "the valet's depreciation clings. The difference between Bradford and Longfellow is simply this—and in its result it is much—Bradford gives us a heroic character with some amusing defects; Longfellow paints a humourous person of innate nobility. As was inevitable, the humour has thrown the nobility into the shade."

Surely this contrast is forced, and the conclusion hardly just. Bradford writes in prose not poetry; he certainly pourtrays Standish as a noble character. But where does he mention his amusing defects?

Longfellow's purpose is different; his touch is light; he deals with one episode only, a traditional one in the Captain's career.

But can we honestly say Longfellow's portrait is that of "a humourous person," even though we add "of innate nobility?"

No doubt there is room for variety of opinion; but heroes are none the less noble, certainly none the less credible, because they have their human imperfections.

The "Courtship" is a charming poem, and a serious one. It has its laughable incidents, but it has also its great moments. And the humour is Puritan humour. The element of fun is kept under, and respect for the Captain's character is not lost sight of.

Longfellow was commemorating his own ancestors, Alden and Priscilla, but he does not exalt them overmuch at the Captain's expense. The title was to have been "Priscilla," as the poet's diary shews, but the Captain could not be crowded out; he is the most arresting figure in the piece.

One little laugh Priscilla allows herself at the soldier's expense, "He is a little chimney, and heated hot in a moment."[1] But the jest is immediately checked by Alden, and never repeated. She does indeed say that he is "old and rough," and calls him "our terrible Captain." Alden's praise, however, is felt to be the poet's own verdict on the character of Captain Standish:—

"He was a man of honour, of noble and generous nature;
Though he was rough, he was kindly; she knew how during the winter
He had attended the sick, with a hand as gentle as woman's;
Somewhat hasty and hot, he could not deny it, and headstrong,
Stern as a soldier might be, but hearty, and placable always,
Not to be laughed at and scorned, because he was little of stature;
For he was great of heart; magnanimous, courtly, courageous."

[1] This description of Standish, "a little chimney soon fired," is from Hubbard's *History of New England*.

MONUMENT TO MYLES STANDISH,
DUXBURY, U.S.A.

If Longfellow reveals Standish as liable to human weakness, it must be noted that he did not make John and Priscilla perfect.

As for John, when the Captain exploded he should have used more tact. He knew the Captain's nature, and anticipated a stormy scene when he should relate Priscilla's refusal and retort. And yet, when the Captain stormed, he could only remain sullen. Was his pride hurt because Standish likened him to Brutus? He had called himself harder names than that while he wandered alone by the sea.

Yet he saw his friend "go forth to danger, perhaps to death, and he spake not!"

Moreover his quixotic plan of leaving in the Mayflower soon cooled at the sight of Priscilla. He stayed, not to defend her (a second thought, and a pretty excuse, indeed!), but because she just looked at him as he stood near the boat with one foot placed on the gunwale.

As for Priscilla, was she not a little bit forward, in seeking an interview with Alden so soon after her famous "Why, don't you speak for yourself?"

There seems to have been a sort of compact between them, not to marry while the Captain felt his "betrayal" so grievously. But this compact was a very brittle thread. It broke at the first rumour of the Captain's death. They did not wait for a burial certificate to be produced; but speeded the wedding with the Puritan equivalent for a special licence.

We do not blame Longfellow for touching upon these little failings; but mention them merely to insist that he was not singling out Myles to make sport with him. We imagine the poet's attitude to all those glorious pioneers was—How human they all were!

The poet's great compliment to Myles occurs in the wedding scene at the end. The Captain comes out of the ordeal of his one defeat with dignity. He turns up unexpectedly at the marriage of John and Priscilla, forgiving and asking forgiveness, saluting the bride after the

manner of old-fashioned gentry in England, making jests at himself for forgetting his favourite adage, and for expecting to gather cherries at Christmas.

Then the people crowd around him, rejoicing to behold again the sun-burnt face of their Captain whom they had mourned as dead. Their joy and his popularity are so great, that, wonderful to relate, even the bride and bridegroom are forgotten! What finer proof could there be of the respect and love with which the poet regarded his hero?

In prose as well as verse Longfellow expresses his esteem for Standish. In the preface to Kent and Co.'s edition, 1858, he says, "Another lady, known to us only by the name of Barbara, consoled him for this mortification by accepting the hand of one of the greatest and noblest men whom Providence raised up to fight the battle of liberty in the Old World, and to lay the social foundation of the New."

Some have even blamed Longfellow for originating the story of the Captain's proposal. Mr. McKnight ascribes it to "poetic licence."

But it is evident that, as Longfellow himself states, he used a current tradition. The earliest reference to it appears in the Rev. Timothy Alden's "Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions" published in 1812-14, vol. III. p. 265.

From this source it was quoted by Davis in a note to the second edition of Morton's New England's Memorial, published in Boston, 1826, p. 263. He calls it an amusing traditionary anecdote. Davis's note was copied in a shortened form in later editions of Morton and thus obtained wide publicity. This abbreviated form, current when Longfellow wrote, is as follows:

"There is a traditionary anecdote relative to Capt. Standish and his friend John Alden. The lady who had gained the affections of the Captain is said to have been Priscilla Mullins. John Alden was sent to make proposals in behalf of Standish. The messenger, though a pilgrim, was then young and comely, and the lady expressed her preference by the question, 'Prithee, John, why do

you not speak for yourself?" The Captain's hope was blasted, and the frank overture soon ended in the marriage of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, from whom it is said, are descended all of the name of Alden in the United States."[1]

The story may have no basis in fact, but it is not incredible. In the article on Myles Standish, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, it is suggested that there was no time for the episode, inasmuch as Standish's second wife, Barbara, must have been summoned to Plymouth a year before the marriage of John Alden to Priscilla Mullins.

No doubt Longfellow leaves Barbara out of account, and the Captain's second marriage may have preceded the wedding of John and Priscilla.

Nevertheless in the interval between the death of Rose (1621) and the arrival of Barbara (1623), there was time for a passing infatuation such as the tradition mentions.

The embellishment of the tradition by the statement that the Captain never forgave his friend to the day of his death is rightly dismissed by Davis in the note referred to above. Standish and Alden both removed to Duxbury where they were near neighbours, and their children intermarried.

The poet's family interest in the subject-matter is indicated in his letter to Charles Sumner, dated July 10, 1858. "I wrote you about my new poem, 'Miles Standish,' founded on the well-known adventure of my maternal ancestor, John Alden. The heroine's name is Priscilla; and so you have the chief characters, and the chief incident before you—taking it for granted that you remember the traditional anecdote."[2]

The poet's diary shews that he wrote the first scene in the *Courtship*, which he originally intended to be a drama, on December 2, 1856.

Long before this, writers had begun to connect Myles with the English Duxbury, and sometimes confounded

[1] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 172.

[2] Preface to illustrated edition of the poem, published by Sampson Low, p. 9.

the Standish Hall branch of the Standish family with the Duxbury Park branch. A picture in one illustrated edition of the *Courtship* gives Duxbury Park and calls it Standish Hall. Davis in his notes to Morton,[1] dissents from an older writer who in 1793 said that Duxbury in America was probably so named because it signified Captain's town. "The compliment was well merited, but it is doubtful whether among such a people it would have been proposed or admitted." Davis, quoting from a MS., refers to Duxbury as the name of the family seat in England. Why should he think "such a people" would not compliment their leader, but would allow a compliment to ancestral property?

Again, Alexander Young said "From his giving the name of Duxbury to the town where he settled . . . . I have no doubt Miles was a descendant of this ancient and warlike stock."[2] And he notes as he writes this (1840, December 7), that the death of Frank Hall Standish of Duxbury, England, appears in the journals.

Another allusion of a somewhat incoherent kind, connecting Myles with the Duxbury estates, appears in a footnote to the 1855 edition of Morton's "New England's Memorial," published at Boston. "Standish's descendants are very numerous in the Old Colony and elsewhere. It is said, Duxborough have a manor in England as their right of inheritance, and has for a long time been held in abeyance for the heirs at law."[3]

Moreover it is increasingly clear that the association of the descendants of Capt. Standish, formed in 1846 to investigate their right to estates in England, had spread abroad their hasty conclusions long before Longfellow began to write on the subject. See page 18.

There can be little doubt that Longfellow had heard of the casual researches at Chorley. The *Courtship* was

[1] 1826 ed., p. 263.

[2] *Chronicles*, 2nd ed., p. 125.

[3] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 172*n*.

finished and printed in 1858, and in an edition of this and other poems, published by Kent and Co. in the same year, there is a woodcut of Chorley Church for frontispiece, shewing the Standish arms on the exterior. Under the wood-cut is printed "Chorley Old Church, Lancashire. The burial place of the Standishes." The preface, evidently by Longfellow, begins: "This poem rests on a basis of historical truth," and after mentioning notable members of the Standish family states: "Miles Standish, the hero of this poem, was the descendant of a younger brother of this valiant race." The claim to the Duxbury estates is not mentioned in the preface nor in the poem. But by the picture of Chorley Church, as well as by the tracing of Myles Standish's descent to the Duxbury Standishes in the poem, in close connection with his mention of Standish as "heir unto vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded," Longfellow helped to root in the public mind a closer connection between Myles and the English Duxbury than is warranted by the claims made by the Captain in his will.

We have already sought to show that the view taken by those who regard Myles as right heir of the Duxbury estates is untenable (see page 51).

The arguments need not be repeated here, but briefly it may be noted that Myles did not claim Duxbury in the will, while the lands he did claim have been identified as the estate of another branch. The bestowal of the name Duxbury on his New England town must be explained in some other way. Perhaps it was a compliment to one major line of Standishes, with the secondary reason that the word itself signifies "Captain's town." Or some other link between Myles and the English Duxbury existed, and remains undiscovered.

A Superseded Pedigree.

When Longfellow makes Alden say that Myles could trace his pedigree "plainly," he used the most unfortunate word in the poem. Why did he not say "proudly"?

Proud claims of long descent are quite reconcilable with vague genealogies. But "plainly" to trace his pedigree back to famous ancestors was probably what Myles could not do, however strong and true his conviction that he derived descent from Standish of Standish. Longfellow makes him able to draw his family tree "back to Hugh Standish, of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire, England, who was the son of Ralph and the grandson of Thurston de Standish."

This was the Standish pedigree current when Longfellow wrote, and was supposed to account for the origin of the two leading branches of the family.[1] Thurstan de Standish, it was believed, lived in the reign of Henry III., and was the first known Standish. Ralph was supposed to be his son. The two sons of Ralph were considered to be the progenitors of the two major branches, his eldest surviving son Jordan being the continuator of the stock at Standish Hall, and a younger son Hugh the originator of the Duxbury branch.

The worst of pedigrees is that they are apt to change as new material is discovered. A deed supposed to be dated 6 Henry III., which mentioned a Thurstan de Standish, has been re-examined, and the date is found to be 6 Henry VI. This brings Thurstan down to 1428, and puts him out of the early pedigree altogether.[2]

Ralph, the father of Hugh and Jordan, was lord of Standish in 1246, but this Hugh was not the founder of the Duxbury Standishes, for he died before 1288; whereas Hugh de Standish of Duxbury, the founder of that branch, was living much later, and was a son of Robert de Haydock, rector of Standish. It has not yet been determined how this Hugh, the first Standish of Duxbury, was related to the Standishes of Standish. Possibly his mother was one of them.

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[1] Young's *Chronicles*, 125-6, quoting Burke's *Commoners*.

[2] Earwaker *Standish Deeds*, I., Dr. Farrer's corrected copy, and *Cockersand Chartulary*, Vol. II., 514*n*.

The progenitors in the corrected pedigree are as follows: the first three members of the Standish of Standish family are Ralph, living 1206, Alexander his son, Ralph, son of Alexander; the three earliest known members of the Standish of Duxbury line are Hugh de Standish (de Haydock), living 1300, William his son, Richard, William's brother.[1]

Vast Estates.

John Alden, pleading his friend's cause with Priscilla, describes the Captain as "Heir unto vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded." Longfellow is echoing the words of Morton, who says "He was a Gentleman, born in *Lancashire*, and was Heir-Apparent unto a great Estate of Lands and Livings, surreptitiously detained from him." Thus Morton expands the statement in the Captain's will.

The "vastness" of the Duxbury estate, if that is intended by the poet, seems to have had a peculiar fascination for some minds. The association formed in 1846 o recover the estate for the Captain's descendants were enthusiastic on the subject. "The property . . . . comprises large tracts of rich farming lands, including several coal mines, and produces a yearly income of £100,000 or more." We may playfully compare this spirit with that of the original Pilgrims, who in 1617 rejected the idea that they should emigrate to Guiana, the first place suggested, because it was supposed to contain gold, and gold might be a temptation.[2]

Another echo of the "vast estates" was heard on August 17, 1871, when ground was consecrated in the New England Duxbury for the Standish monument. General Sargent, the orator of the day, spoke of the hand of fraud having defaced a parish register in order to defeat the Captain's title to lands in England, "the rent-roll of which is half a million per annum." Thus does the precious

[1] *Vict. Co. Hist. Lancs.*, VI., 193, 209, and Author's MSS.

[2] *Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 9.

metal, tabooed by our fathers, become the totem of their children.

John Alden evidently thought Priscilla susceptible to the charms of heraldry; so, in praising the Captain, he recited sonorously that Myles

"Still bore the family arms, and had for his crest a cock argent,
Combed and wattled gules, and all the rest of the blazon."

Longfellow is here carrying out the identification of Myles with the Duxbury branch. He gives the crest correctly, but why omit the arms, unless he could not as readily express them in his hexameters? The arms are "Azure, three standing dishes, argent"; and Alden, as a deputy wooer, might have made nice play with the family motto "Constant en tout."

If the poet had preferred to connect Myles with the older family, thus following out the claim of descent from Standish of Standish contained in the Captain's will, he would have given the crest as "An owl with a rat in its claws, proper."

The arms of the older line, "Sable, three standing dishes argent," differ from those of the Duxbury branch only in the colour of the shield. The Standish of Standish motto is "Je desire."

When Longfellow speaks of a pedigree that went back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall he is guilty of an anachronism. The manor house was not called by that name until the eighteenth century at the earliest; it was anciently known as The Peel. The word signifies a fortified house or stronghold, and Chaucer uses it. "God save the lady of this pel" occurs in *House of Fame*.[1]

Thomas Standish of the Peel is mentioned in 1508. The map accompanying the 1637 edition of Camden's *Britannia* shows "The Pele of Duxbury," and the map of the 1695 edition still calls the house "The Pele." The

[1] III., 220.

name Duxbury Hall was, however, used early in the nineteenth century; the place is now more commonly described as Duxbury Park.

Strange to say—and this has already been noted (page 51)—there was another old house which in the seventeenth century was known as Duxbury Hall. It was the property of an Alexander Duxbury, and never belonged to the Duxbury Standishes. Curiously enough, though in Duxbury township, it was acquired in 1524 by Ralph Standish of Standish.[1]

The Ancestor who slew Wat Tyler.

In his paroxysm of rage at the failure of John Alden's mission the Captain is made to exclaim:

"One of my ancestors ran his sword through the heart of Wat Tyler;
Who shall prevent me from running my own through the heart of a traitor?
Yours is the greater treason, for yours is a treason to friendship?"

It would seem unlikely that Longfellow is here echoing any New England tradition as to what Captain Standish may have claimed in regard to some famous ancestor. The poet probably got his information from Young's "Chronicles."[2] Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Standish had among his books a copy of the "Chronicle of England." Several of the old chroniclers state that a member of the Standish family defended King Richard against Wat Tyler; they differ as to his Christian name, and therefore it is lucky for Longfellow that he left it vague.

Research has enabled the present writer to identify the ancestor in question. It was Ralph, a younger son of John de Standish, lord of the manor of Standish, who helped to slay Wat Tyler at Smithfield in 1381. He was an esquire of the King at the time, and was knighted for his service on this occasion, receiving several annuities and also the wardenship of Scarborough Castle.

[1] Earwaker, *Standish Deeds*, 272, 273, 291, 292.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 125*n*.

Captain Standish was, according to Pastor Robinson, of "a warm temper."[1]

Twice at least Longfellow explains this as a racial characteristic of the Standishes. Under the taunts of the Indians at Weymouth Myles displayed a calmness commended by the chroniclers. The savages themselves, however, skilled observers, saw the fire in his eyes. And at the ripe moment there was an outbreak:

> "All the hot blood of his race, of Sir Hugh and of Thurston de Standish,
> Boiled and beat in his heart, and swelled in the veins of his temples."

Again, at the wedding and the reconciliation, he excused his former anger against Alden by saying:

> "Mine is the same hot blood that leaped in the veins of Hugh Standish."

Possibly the poet is drawing his bow at a venture. There was plenty of hot blood about in ancient days, and it was pretty safe to attribute it to any of the old families. Nevertheless, the poet was truer to fact than he knew. The temperature of the Standishes was generally a little above normal. The various branches supplied numerous soldiers, and the parent stock had standing feuds with their neighbours, the Langtrees and the Langtons.

One affray took place at Wigan on Black Monday, 1479, between the Standishes on the one side and Langtons and Gerards on the other, the latter party having to pay monetary compensation to the former for the "grett offence and hurte" and "blody stroks" they had suffered.[2]

In fact, the history of the family, especially during the French Wars, the Revolution, and the Jacobite period, is a history of hot blood.

The Puritan branch at Duxbury was not exempt from this trait. Colonel Richard Standish, of the Civil War period, could shew it even to his own party when his will was crossed. An incident is related of him in 1651, when

[1] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 327.

[2] Earwaker *Standish Deeds*, 162, 167.

he counted out certain dues to a parliamentarian agent, then swept back into his own pocket part of the money, saying it was owing to him, and defied the commissary to send any "rascals" to distrain his goods.[1]

When Longfellow painted the portraits of his Pilgrims he did indeed dip his brush into the glowing colours of imagination, but he also used the more sober and neutral shades found in "the chronicles of wasted time." His details as to the Captain's home, dress, arms, books, appearance, temper, gentleness, may nearly all be traced to some record or tradition. The allusions to Barriffe and Cæsar are suggested by the inventory of the soldier's goods, taken after his death.[2]

John Alden's summing-up of the traits in Standish's character is gleaned from the pages of Bradford and Morton.

The re-filling of the rattlesnake's skin (the act of the Governor, not of Standish) is described by Winslow and by Morton.

The "brazen howitzer planted high on the roof of the church" is also from the Chronicles.

The fight with Pecksuot, his sinister parable of the knives, the Captain's calmness under the taunts of the Indians, and his victory over the boaster, are in Winslow's "Relation"; as is also the setting-up on the meeting-house fort of the head of Wituwamat, an incident which, according to Longfellow, excited the horror of Priscilla.[3]

If there is one book more than another to which Longfellow stands indebted it is Young's "Chronicles." Much of his material was derived from the text and notes of this compilation.

It is easy enough to find anachronisms in the poem, the action of which is supposed to begin in the Spring and end in the Autumn of 1621. By poetic licence many things which happened later in the real history of the colony

[1] *Cal. Com. Comp.*, I., 396.

[2] *Mayflower Descendant*, III., 155.

[3] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 277, 49; 53; 325-330.

are included in this short space. The Puritans would hardly have called their meeting-house a church, and moreover it was not built until 1622.[1]

It is unlikely that Standish was an old man at 37, with his beard "flaked with patches of snow." The poet's account of his expedition against the Indians of Weymouth is taken from Winslow's *Relation*. It took place in March, 1623, not in the year 1621; the Captain and his men went in a boat there, and not on foot. The fight with the chiefs did not take place in the open.[2]

Priscilla's wedding was not in the autumn of 1621, but occurred about three years later; and in the meantime Barbara, who married the Captain, arrived in the colony in 1623.[3]

"Raghorn, the snow-white bull that had fallen to Alden's allotment," was not given to him in time for the wedding. According to Bradford, the first cattle came in 1624, and at first belonged to the whole colony. They were not distributed until 1627.

Other discrepancies have already been mentioned. But it is surely too much to say that Longfellow has "marred his poem by inaccuracies and anachronisms which detract from its vraisemblance."[4]

The poem is full of local colour. Phrases from the pilgrim chronicles skilfully interwoven create an atmosphere fairly true and consistent.

The poet deals with episodes in a free manner, but never assumes the same measure of licence as Sir Walter Scott, who in "Peveril of the Peak" makes the Countess of Derby, really a Huguenot, into a strict Roman Catholic.

In the main he is faithful to the records; and if we find him mistaken in some of his references to the Lancashire Standishes, it is because he was misled by authorities whom he imagined he could trust.

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[1] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 53.
[2] *Pilgrim Fathers*, 58, 277.
[3] Myles Standish in *Ency. Brit.*
[4] Myles Standish, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

CHAPTER VI.

Duxbury Park.

FOR the daughter of the gods, divinely fair, "many drew swords and died." So Tennyson phrases it; but estates as well as fair ladies may have many suitors. Duxbury is the very Helen of Lancashire halls, with a long list of militant claimants.

The casual visitor, who can without responsibility enjoy its charms, and who knows that ownership implies maintenance, may consider that the stately house with its emerald lawns is like Meredith's ladylove "sweeter unpossessed." But many have deemed otherwise.

Comparatively speaking, all went merry as a marriage bell until Sir Frank Standish died in 1812, and the male line and the baronetcy lapsed. Then applicants came from the north and the south, from the east and the west. On both sides of the Atlantic to-day, there are those who think that, if justice was done, they would be ensconced in power and state at Duxbury.

About a mile and a half south of Chorley stands the mansion, surrounded by a well-wooded park. To the west of the house the little River Yarrow goes gurgling along its leafy valley; and the age-long mill, mentioned in 1346, and working until recently, is not far away.

The Hall faces east, and is a spacious building some 80 feet in length, with a Doric portico; while north and south wings run backward 90 feet or more. The walls were faced with large blocks of ashlar gritstone in 1828; but even behind this covering they are substantial. At the entrance they are three feet thick; and there are huge stones which would probably belong to an ancient building.

Part of the present house dates back to the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Work of that period is to be seen

in the cellars, which were probably the ground floor of the old hall; for they have fire-places and mullioned windows, now bricked up, below the ground level; while outside there is a stone drain 10 feet below the present surface.

The white marble staircase in the Hall is very handsome and imposing. It is circular in shape, with a diameter of 36 feet 6 inches, and is on the cantilever principle. This stair is probably about 200 years old in workmanship. If introduced in 1828 by Frank Hall Standish, who filled the house with art treasures, it may have been transferred from elsewhere. The walls of the stair are decorated with paintings of the Seasons.

An interesting stone panel, perhaps once affixed to the exterior of the house, has been brought inside, and carefully preserved by the resident owner of the estate, P. S. Mayhew, Esq. This panel bears the arms of Standish of Duxbury in six quarters, impaling Wingfield of Letheringham, surmounted by the crests of these families and the date 1623; and has reference to the marriage of Thomas Standish of Duxbury, afterwards M.P. for Preston, with Anne Wingfield.

The front windows of the house command fine views of the Anglezark moors and uplands. At this time the house contained some valuable paintings, including Murillo's "Ecce Homo."[1]

Such is the fair paradise after which so many peris have longed.

Sir Frank Standish having died intestate and without issue in 1812, Mr. Baker, of Ellesmere Hall, near Durham, took possession of the Duxbury estates in the name of his ward, Frank Hall, who was then a boy of thirteen.

A certain Thomas Standish of Blackrod, a weaver, claimed to be the right heir, and assumed the title of Sir Thomas. The present writer has had the loan of a very elaborate pedigree, illustrated with coats of arms, which was used by the claimant. It shows that Thomas Standish,

[1] Twycross, *Mansions*, Lancs., I., 45.

baptised at Blackrod, 1763, is the "undoubted heir male" by the will of Alexander Standish of Duxbury (died 1622), who married a daughter of Sir Ralph Ashton, of Whalley Abbey.

Aided by about a hundred collier friends, Thomas Standish went to Duxbury Park on June 4, 1813, and dispossessed the resident bailiff. The Preston constables, who were sent for, proving too weak to drive out the invaders, a troop of horse soldiers came from Manchester the next day and took the garrison prisoners. Thomas Standish and some of his leading friends were indicted for riot, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment at Lancaster Castle.

For some time afterwards, however, his sympathisers made demonstrations in the park, and visited the inn at Yarrow Bridge to drink to his better fortune. These carousals were known as Duxbury Races and Yarrow Bridge Fair, and some local laureate set the following verse to a popular tune:—

"From Wigan the constables brave did repair
To Duxbury Races and Yarrow Bridge Fair;
To keep our true landlord our efforts did fail;
They carried Sir Thomas to Lancaster Jail.
But we'll fetch him back;
He nothing shall lack.
And in spite of the lawyers and Master Frank Hall,
He shall ride in his carriage to Duxbury Hall."

Three weeks after the siege, another party of Queen's Bays had to come to Chorley for the further safety of Duxbury Park; and they remained in the vicinity from June until September. On September 5 in the following year, 1814, the Orange Society from Wigan went to Chorley to meet Thomas Standish on his release from Lancaster Castle.[1]

Some eleven years later, a Thomas Standish, probably the same, but a wiser and a sadder man, essayed the intervention of the law rather than the arbitrament of force.

[1] *Preston Guardian*, June 15th, 1901; *Manchester City News*, May 6th, 1883; *Old Wigan*, Wigan Observer Office, No. 286.

He served ejectments on the tenants and was under terms to try the issue. In objection to the bill of claim filed by him, an answer was put in on April 2, 1825, by Mr. Frank Hall Standish, who had his case prepared and witnesses in readiness. Thomas Standish claimed to be a descendant of a direct line, but very remotely. After having brought his case into Court, he was obliged to abandon it from insufficiency of proof.

On giving up his case, Thomas Standish informed the claimants next to be dealt with (Messrs. Jackson, Iremonger and Carr) of their rights, and told them they were in fact the rightful descendants.[1]

Nearly 20 years after Mr. Frank Hall entered into possession, a Mr. Jackson put forward his claim, based upon his descent from Anne, daughter of Richard Standish, of Duxbury, who in 1673 married Stephen Radley.

"Mr. Jackson made his entries and issued his ejectments, but in consequence of an informality in the proceedings they were advised to be abandoned."

The Mr. Jackson mentioned above joined with others in submitting a case to counsel in 1835, intending to bring the question to issue by Writ of Right should counsel think there were fair hopes of success. Mr. Jackson claimed that the estate descended to him, and two other female branches of the descendants of Anne (Standish) Radley.

Colonel William Iremonger was also associated with Mr. Jackson; he claimed descent by his mother, Ann Dusseaux, who married Joshua Iremonger, this Ann being a great-granddaughter of Anne (Standish) Radley.

The third male claimant who joined forces with these others was Mr. Standish Carr. He was descended from Margaret Standish, daughter of the first Sir Thomas Standish, of Duxbury, which Sir Thomas died in 1746. His daughter Margaret married, first, in 1727, a William Wombwell, of Wombwell, co. York, Esq., who died and was buried at Darfield, July 21, 1733. Margaret, his

[1] Dr. Farrer's Standish of Duxbury papers.

DUXBURY PARK.

(From *Mansions of Lancashire*, by E. Twycross, 1846.)

widow, was married at Frickley with Clayton, co. York, on December 5, 1734, to Anthony Hall, of Kirkby.

Margaret's daughter, Anne Hall, married the Rev. Ralph Carr, grandfather of Mr. Standish Carr, the claimant.

The case of these associated claimants against Frank Hall (who had meanwhile delivered a pedigree into the College of Arms and by Royal Licence assumed the name of Standish) was, that although he might be descended from the Anthony Hall who married Margaret Wombwell, formerly Standish, yet he was the offspring of Anthony by a former union, and therefore was not of the Standish blood.

They did not doubt that the first Anthony had another son of the same name by Margaret, but contended that this Anthony went to sea and died unmarried.

These claims were under discussion when Frank Hall Standish died in 1840; and Mr. Standish Carr, one of the above-mentioned claimants, was finally adjudged to be his rightful successor, taking the surname Standish in lieu of his family name.

It is remarkable that Mr. Standish Carr disputed the right of Mr. Frank Hall Standish while the latter lived, but allowed him and his branch the place they had claimed in the family pedigrees published after 1840.

In view of the complaints made by later disputants that Chorley Register was defaced to defeat the title of the rightful heir, it is interesting to read that the associated claimants of 1835 made a similar assertion about the Standish Register. In connection with the baptism of Thomas, son of Sir Richard and Margaret Standish, of Duxbury, at Standish Church, on January 16, 1678-9, they say: "It is a curious circumstance that this register has been cut out of the Standish books, and was found among the returns from that parish to Chester [Diocesan Registry]."

The next scene in the drama was the visit of Mr. Bromley to Chorley in 1846, on behalf of the American descendants of Captain Myles Standish. This has already been described at length on pages 18–22.

But it was written in the book of fate that twice within a century Duxbury Park should be the scene of a siege and re-capture. In September, 1891, a part of the estate was offered for sale at Chorley. The Carrs, as we have seen, had claimed against the Halls; and now claimants, purporting to represent the Halls, were ready to dispute with the Carrs. Mr. William Hall, of Wigan, claiming some connection with Frank Hall Standish, who died in 1840, protested against the sale, and stated that he would press his claim to the property. The trustees at that time were Colonel Paulet, Mr. Clarence G. Sinclair, Mr. James, a London solicitor, and Mr. G. Felix Standish Sinclair. Mr. James stated that the property had been held 50 years by the then owners, and that was a sufficient guarantee of title.

Mr. Hall, however, with his solicitor, Mr. C. S. Yates, of Liverpool, accompanied by ten men, went to the Park, which had not been occupied for about ten years, and took possession on September 28th. The tenants of the estate, led by the steward, surrounded the Hall; and the claimant's party barricaded themselves in the present billiard room. After a stiff fight, they were ejected, and legal proceedings resulted.

Even yet, occasionally, the smouldering fires of old memories and old desires are stirred, and there is a little smoke. About nine years ago the present writer saw affixed to the door of the parish church of Standish, a printed notice stating that the Duxbury estates were about to be taken into possession by the gentleman who published the notice. There are other stories which cannot be published without betraying confidence. One claimant of whom we have heard, who lived in London, carried all the papers appertaining to the subject in his hat, and would not let anybody see them.

On these varied claims one does not pretend to adjudicate, lest one should be accused of those servile motives which Mr. Goodwin attributed to the rector of Chorley.[1]

[1] Page 19.

Let it suffice to say that if the fair mansion were parcelled among all its suitors, not one stone would be left upon another; while if the ancient demesne were similarly divided, there would hardly be allocated to each applicant space enough for a garden of herbs.

CHAPTER VII.

Standish Hall.

THE ancient home of the Standishes, however lacking in architectural unity, has a certain picturesque beauty. The very commingling of styles is reminiscent of the passing centuries and the changing fortunes of the family.

The most attractive feature in its appearance is the old black and white sixteenth century portion, with its quatrefoil ornamentation. The windows here have diamond-shaped panes; the upper window is of great length, having no less than nineteen lights. This middle wing was probably built about 1575, for a deed of Edward Standish of this date makes mention of his new mansion house.

South of the half-timber wing stands the private chapel, a seventeenth century brick building decorated with a turret and a clock. On the other side of the old part is a brick wing, probably of the same date as the chapel, and west of this wing a later section which is now the principal part of the house. A spout-head here bears the date 1748 and the initials of Ralph Standish and his second wife, Mary, indicating the time of some reconstruction. Further west still is an eighteenth century addition of one storey only, on which there is a spout-head with the date 1822 and the initials of Charles Standish.

Inside, some fine panelling and wainscoting still remain, and several interesting doors; the great hall, however, originally 36 feet by 17 feet, is now quite altered and modernised, being used as a billiard room. One bedroom, fully panelled in oak, has a fine fireplace including a large plaster shield with the Standish arms, in ten quarters, and crest. There are two splendid carved oak mantelpieces, brought from Borwick Hall, near Carnforth, by

William Standish, who married Cecilia Bindloss, of Borwick. One of these mantels is in the old drawing room, to the right of the entrance. It contains a shield of the Stuart sovereigns, including the arms of France; and the other panel has the arms of Bindloss of Borwick impaling Eltofts with the date 1603. The second mantel is in the study and shows the royal arms differently blazoned, and the coat of Bindloss impaling Dalton. The reprehensible custom of removing oak carving has resulted in loss as well as gain to Standish Hall, for there is a door at Towneley Hall, Burnley, evidently taken from Standish, bearing the initials of Ralph and Alice Harrington Standish and the date 1530.

The chapel, long disused, is falling into decay, though the classic altar-piece with Tuscan columns bears witness to its former ornamentation. There is an old balustraded gallery at the west end. A window from a room formerly used by the priest looks down into the chapel. On the south wall are two pieces of moulded oak of old date, but a spout-head bears the initials of Ralph and Mary Standish and the date 1742. The chapel was dedicated to St. Marie of the Annunciation, and was used by the Roman Catholics until their new church was built in 1884.

There was originally a moat encircling Standish Hall. It is mentioned in 1611, and is said to have been filled up in 1780.[2]

Standish Hall was the parent home of several famous families of the Standishes, such as those who settled at Duxbury Park, at Arley, Burgh, and Scholes. This remote homestead among the woods by the waters of the Douglas is the birthplace of a name that has crossed the narrow and the broad seas. From beneath its rooftree have come men who have taken high office in church and State, bishop and canon, knight and sheriff, some wielding a mighty sword and some the mightier pen.

[1] V.C.H. Lancs., VI., 462.

[2] Mannex, *Mid-Lancs.*, 177.

Photo: *Dalton, Chorley.*

STANDISH CHURCH (1903).

STANDISH HALL.

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head of this
where once
Black Prince,
fleur-de-lys.
of Plymouth,
at more sure
dying, as his
rly cradle of
f Standish.
me of which
t of the word
for park or
h," meaning
first part of
possibly from
place? The
the land.[1]
? Probably
extended into
waste of wood
boundary of
dish Wood at

servant going
ed in a close
he said Hall.
orse until he
d but for the
Master Ralph
tandish when

Hall became
of Jacobite

[1] The Stand is a high place at Knowsley? Cf. … heley G.G. 1488.
[2] *Standish Deeds*, Earwaker, 32, 34, 40.
[3] *Ib.*, 52.
[4] *L. and C. Record Society*, Vol. 35, p. 118.

sympathies. Its remoteness from busy towns and accessibility by lonely lanes made it an ideal rendezvous for plotters. There was a great feasting of the Jacobite gentry at the Hall at Christmas, 1689, but among the guests there was a traitor.[1]

In April, 1690, Roger Kenyon was told by a friend, "There is a story of a plot in Lancashire . . . . discovered by one Dodsworth, a papist. Mr. Standish of Standish's house, was beset, but I hear he escaped."[2]

It speaks much for the daring, if mistaken, loyalty of William Standish to the Stuart cause, that even after this "scare," the secret collecting of arms and munitions went on. Carriers alleged that they had taken kettle-drums, pistols, etc., to Standish Hall. One man had unloaded his horses in the inner courts and pitched the packs in the parlour, where they were opened and the arms divided, Mr. Standish, Mr. Molineux and Sir Rowland Stanley each taking his share.[3] Another carrier had a pack-horse accidentally thrown down in Wigan Lane, which led to boxes belonging to Mr. Standish being opened and pistols discovered.[4] This carrier went with his master to the Hall in the dead of night with two kettle-drums "whelved" round his head as he sat on horseback on a sack of pistols. The rattling of the drums so terrified the horse that the rider was thrown and cut his head, but when he delivered the pistols and drums at the Hall he was rewarded with a shilling and some drink.[5]

Men were made ready as well as munitions. It was said that John Sharp, servant to Mr. Standish, was employed to enlist men for King James's service at Standish town and other places, giving them each one shilling "listing money" and promising them half-a-crown a day. Offices in the Jacobite army were liberally promised, and

[1] *Chetham Soc.*, Old Series, Vol. XXVIII., pp. xxi., xliii.
[2] *Kenyon MSS.*, p. 238.
[3] *Chetham Soc.*, Old Series, LXI., 93.
[4] *Ib.*, XXVIII., 73.
[5] *Chetham Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII., 107.

a quarrel as to the places of quarter-master and corporal in a troop of horse to be raised by Mr. Standish caused one Laurence Brandon, to miss his dinner at Standish Hall, where he had been invited by the servants, one May day in 1691, and "rather to dine in the town of Standish." But the company were compensated afterwards when "the young lord of Standish" called them from the Hall kitchen into a parlour, made them drink, and gave them a brave speech about their rightful King who was banished. Thus was young Ralph foreshadowing in 1691 the part he was to play in 1715. Taking a horseman's naked sword, and bending the blade thereof by way of trial, he shewed it to the company and told them they should be furnished with no worse than that; and at their taking leave of him he gave them a word by which they should know one another, which was, "Go thy way, old Trip!" We forbear to ask who "old Trip" was. It was a playful touch, adding a spice of fun to this desperate adventure. But we may be sure that their eyes shone when they saw the sharp edge and the pliant temper of that awful symbol, the naked sword; and how the glasses clinked as they drank to the King across the water![1]

These warlike doings appear to have been the talk of the neighbourhood, and spies and informers were abroad. A second time Standish Hall was surrounded and searched. One July day in 1691, the thunder of hoofs was heard on the drive; the sun glinted on the armour and bright colours of horsemen speeding past the trees, and a gay cavalcade drew rein at the Hall door. Captain Baker, accompanied by King's Messengers and a dozen troopers of the Dutch Horse, with their blue cloaks and big pistols, demanded admittance in the name of the King, and proceeded to search the house. William Standish and his son, Ralph, had evidently absconded; but the lady (Cecilia, wife of William Standish, the daughter of Sir Robert Bindloss, of Borwick) received them, if the Captain's story can be believed, with outspoken defiance. Thirty-nine

[1] *Chetham Soc.*, XXVIII., 112, 113.

saddles, mostly for cavalry, were part of his haul; also belts for carbines. There was a treasonable document discovered in a bed-chamber upstairs, afterwards described in Parliament as "fit to be burned." Captain Baker accused the lady of a lack of candour (perhaps owing to her agitation). When he came into the lady's chamber, the lady said he had come too late for she had been informed of his coming. When he put aside the hanging by the chimney, she declared on her honour there was nothing there on the bricks. But he put in his hands, and pulled out a matter of ten yellow swords, blades and scabbards, such as soldiers wear. The Chapel at the Hall was robbed without the Captain's orders, and a chalice taken. A silver-hilted sword was carried off also, and a fowling-piece. This the Captain returned, because the lady said it was her son's.[1] The booty was not large; the hiding-places kept their secret well. When the famous trial of the Jacobite gentry took place at Manchester in 1694, William Standish was not with them. He had escaped, some say to France, but it is probable that he was hiding in Standish. A royal proclamation was issued in 1695, threatening all who helped to conceal him, and offering £500 as a reward for his apprehension.[2]

Was there really a plot of which Standish Hall was the rendezvous? The Jacobite gentry, tried in 1694, protested that they were the victims of a sham plot "forged by persons for interest and design." Many have taken their part;[3] much ink has been spilt and much pity wasted. John Lunt and John Taafe, the informers, may have been unprincipled rogues, but their chief contention was true. Poor Womball, the carrier of Wigan Lane, may have combined a little perjury with his whipping of packhorses, as his enemies alleged; nevertheless, when he said he had carried arms to Standish Hall, it was probably the plain truth. Standish Hall has revealed its secret, as the sea

[1] *Chetham Soc.*, XXVIII., 40; LXI., 14. *Kenyon MSS.*, 352, 377.

[2] Copy in Wigan Library.

[3] *Cf. Chetham Soc.*, XXVIII., LXI., Introductions.

gives up her dead. There was a plot, and the Hall was its nursery. When the Old Coppy Wall at Standish was taken down in 1757, a bundle of papers was found proving that the Lancashire Jacobites were in correspondence with the banished king, and were taking active steps to bring him back again. The contents of the papers remind us forcibly of John Lunt's claim that he had been sent by the Jacobite gentry at Standish Hall "to acquaint King James of their forwardness."[1] One of the papers that came to light was a Declaration of Loyalty addressed to King James, signed on the back by J. Parker, Ra. Widdrington, Willm. Standish and others. Having seriously deliberated upon a matter of so high a nature among themselves, and having given to each other all the assurances that the faith of men is capable of, they resolve that nothing shall be wanting "to put matters in such a readiness as may prove useful to your Majesty whenever a service is demanded." The King has already been informed of their numbers by Colonel Townley, but that estimate will be rather exceeded than diminished "whenever the happy occasion shall offer." They have taken care that no arms shall be wanting and pray that it may be suddenly in His Majesty's power to make an experiment of their loyalty.

Another document was a note from King James approving of what Colonel Parker, brigadier of his army, had done in order to form regiments of horse and dragoons, and persuading them to provide arms. He returns thanks to his loyal subjects, the gentlemen concerned, and desires them to send one of their number to whom he will deliver commissions. Their messenger must have a warrant from the rest to prove his authority, and it must be so contrived that it may do no hurt, though it should, as God forbid, miscarry.

Among the hidden papers were some in cypher, with directions as to troops, also blank commissions from James II., dated June 8, 1692, for a Regiment of Horse,

[1] *Chetham Soc.*, LXI., p. 11.

1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 7 Cornets, and for a Regiment of Dragoons, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 6 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 6 Cornets.[1]

We are told that "pity for the accused and hatred of the prosecutors" were the prevailing sentiments at the trial of the Jacobite gentry.[2] Hot blood has had time to cool, but even yet there may be various views concerning the loyalty and prudence of the Lancashire Jacobites. As to their courage, however, there can be but one opinion. They risked their lives and their lands for the cause they loved. And having almost lost both, some of them were ready again to make the grand venture.

The young lord of Standish, who had tested the naked sword before his new recruits, succeeded to the estates in 1705. Years passed by, and after long waiting came "the happy occasion." It was not so happy after all. Ralph Standish joined the Jacobites at Preston in 1715, and the story of the fight or fiasco there is well known. He was brought through Standish a prisoner, and no doubt looked wistfully at the woods encircling the home he might never see again. When they paused at Wigan, he wrote a beautiful and tender letter to his mother, at Borwick, the lady of Captain Baker's account, who had seen the Hall searched in 1694.

The powerful influence of the Howards, his wife's family, secured his escape from death, but Standish Hall and the estates were confiscated by the Crown. Ultimately, they were purchased for the Standish family.

The following demesne fields are mentioned in 1507: the High, Little and Lower Earley (? Berley), Passemeadow Hey, the Elnop, Park Meadow, Galt's Field, the Greens, Horse Close, Hard Field, Little and Great Highfield, the Two Launds, and the Park.

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[1] Standish Deeds and Papers, Mrs. Tempest. These are historical documents, and so far as is known they have not been mentioned in print before.

[2] *Chetham Soc.*, Vol. LXI., Part II., p. xv.

In 1755 the demesne fields were: Fearny Lawns, Rushby Lawns, Gansy Lawns, Wood Meadows, Fold Meadow, Mill Meadow, Great and Little Copy, Berley Plain, Elnup, Parsnip Meadow, Higher and Lower Berley, Great, Middle and Little Berchinlee, Great Berley Wood, Fold, Woodyard Clough, Nursery, Old Orchard. The Kitchen Garden, the Mill and Woods (in Rigby's possession) are also mentioned.

The following demesne fields were let with New House (now Strickland House): Brickkiln Hey, Sheepcote Highfield, Long Highfield, Calf House Meadow, Horse Close Cop High Field, Close at the top, Well Meadow and Plantations.

Charles Standish was the last of the family to occupy the Hall. He left it in 1824; Thomas Darwell, a mayor of Wigan, became tenant. John Hill, barrister, was there in 1840; John Lord in 1848. John Taylor, a later tenant, was followed by Nathaniel Eckersley, J.P., who was there in 1869, and died 1892. J. B. Almond came about 1903, and his family still (1920) occupy the Hall.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Pilgrim Library: the Books of Myles Standish.

CAN we judge a man by his books? Not very safely; for his entire library may have been a legacy or a gift, never used by its owner. But that would be an extreme case. As we read the list of books among the possessions of Captain Myles Standish we feel at once that some of them comport very naturally with his character and career. So Longfellow thought, and his fancy delighted to dwell on the books of the Captain of Plymouth:

> "Fixed to the opposite wall was a shelf of books, and among them
> Prominent three, distinguished alike for bulk and for binding;
> Barriffe's Artillery Guide, and the Commentaries of Cæsar;
> And, as if guarded by these, between them was standing
> the Bible."

One dares to believe that in this case some at least of his books reveal the man; and the mind that found joy and inspiration in them was not a narrow mind. The very first mentioned volume on the list of the Captain's books strikes an Elizabethan note, "The History of the World." It may be a Puritan library, but it was no narrow type of Puritanism that could explore universal history, and share the fascination that fell on Orosius, Alfred and Raleigh.

It is a soldier's library. Here is the book that teaches drill and discipline. And even the volumes that represent pure literature have a military flavour. Homer, Cæsar, perhaps even the Bible, charmed the reader most when he found in them the clash of arms. Longfellow imagines him hesitating which he should choose for his consolation and comfort:

" Whether the wars of the Hebrews, the famous campaigns of the Romans,
Or the Artillery practice, designed for belligerent Christians.
Finally down from its shelf he dragged the ponderous Roman,
Seated himself at the window, and opened the book, and in silence
Turned o'er the well-worn leaves, where thumb-marks thick on the margin,
Like the trample of feet, proclaimed the battle was hottest."

There is a distinct love of history reflected from these bookshelves, wide as the world and reaching out to peoples of strange race and faith, such as the Turks, yet dwelling most tenderly on the homeland and carried right up to contemporary heroes, leaders, causes and conflicts. The spell of Gloriana, the Virgin Queen, was felt by one who had fought at her command, and received his commission from her hand. Again, Gustavus Adolphus was one of his heroes, and among his books he treasured the portrait and the life-story of the Swedish leader.

More than half the books in the list relate to religion. Some, such as Calvin and Hall, represent systematic theology; others are devotional; a good number are controversial; in some, no doubt, all these elements meet.

Controversy belonged to the times; and possibly Myles, with his martial spirit, delighted in the resounding whacks of the polemics directed against the Roman Church, and also against the Church of England, reformed, but as some thought, not sufficiently reformed. In the debate between conformity and nonconformity, Standish's library suggests that he was ready to hear both sides. So far as the titles can be identified it seems fair to say that there is a preponderance of authors moderate in opinion, and that conformity is well represented. There is one bitter book, " Johnson against Hearing." But the library of Standish is sufficient to show that he did not imbibe its spirit. At any rate he was not " against reading " either the champions of the Church of England or their opponents. His library, like his life, reflects the spirit, all too rare, of toleration. It must not be forgotten that he was content to live and

work with men whose faith he did not hold, at any rate in the same form.

The books which appear to deal with farming, medicine and law, remind us what a many-sided man he was, and how in those early pioneering days every man had to be his own lawyer and doctor.

On the "parcels of old books, divers subjects," so summarily dismissed by the executors, fancy fondly dwells. Some of those folios and quartos would now be worth their weight in gold. We like to think that among those unnamed tomes Shakespeare and Hakluyt were represented.

Matthew Arnold rashly said that the Pilgrims would have been intolerable company for Shakespeare and Virgil. This one of them, at least, did not find Homer "intolerable company."

The following list of his books, with the value of them, was compiled by his executors and attested by his daughter, Barbara, in 1657. Several transcripts have been collated, and the spelling modernised. The numbers are affixed here as a guide to the notes which follow. Following the item in the inventory which enumerates one sword, one cutlass, three belts, we have

	£	s.	d.
(1) The History of the World, and (2) The Turkish History	1	10	0
(3) A Chronicle of England, and (4) The Country Farmer	0	8	0
(5) The History of Queen Elizabeth, (6) The State of Europe	1	10	0
(7) Doctor Hall's (or Hales) Works, (8) Calvin's Institutions	1	4	0
(9) Wilcocks' Works, and (10) Mayor's	1	0	0
(11) Roger's Seven Treatises, and (12) The French Academy	0	12	0
(13) Three Old Bibles	0	14	0
(14) Cæsar's Commentaries, (15) Bariffe's Artillery ...	0	10	0
(16) Preston's Sermons, (17) Burroughs' Christian Contentment, (18) Gospel Conversation, (19) Passions of the Mind, (20) The Physician's Practice, (21) Burroughs' Earthly Mindedness, (22) Burroughs' Discovery	1	4	0

(23) Ball on Faith, (24) Brinsley's Watch, (25) Dod on the Lord's Supper, (26) Sparke against Heresy, (27) Davenport's Apology	0	15	0
(28) A Reply to Doctor Cotton on Baptism, (29) The German History, (30) The Sweden Intelligencer, (31) Reason (or Reasons) Discussed	0	10	0
(32) One Testament, (33) One Psalm Book, (34) Nature and Grace in Conflict, (35) A Law Book, (36) The Mean in Mourning, (37) Allegations against B.P. of Durham, (38) Johnson against Hearing ...	0	6	0
(39) Wilson's Dictionary, (40) Homer's Iliad, (41) A Commentary on James Ball's Catechism... ...	0	12	0
A Parcel of Old Books of Divers Subjects, in quarto ...	0	14	0
Another Parcell in octavo...	0	4	0
	£11	13	0

Another transcription[1] makes the group ending with Davenport's "Apology" worth 10s., and the Parcel of octavo books, 5s., total £11 9s.

(1) "History of the World." There were several works with a similar title; but one would like to think that the book Captain Standish had was that written by Sir Walter Raleigh [1552-1618] and his friends during his last imprisonment. Raleigh's fame in the colonisation of Virginia and the conquest of Guiana might well render him a hero in the eyes of one who had a kindred zest for adventure.

(2) The Turkish History is probably "The Mahumetane, or Turkish Historie, translated from the French-Italian by R. Carr," London, 1600, 4to.[2]

(3) "A Chronicle of England" is a somewhat indefinite description. Lord Berners' translation of Froissart first appeared 1523-25. Raphael Holinshed's "Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland" were published in 1578.

Both these works mentioned the exploits of several members of the Standish family, and Captain Myles would be likely to prize a chronicle that made reference to distinguished ancestors. Some of the allusions to the Stan-

[1] See New Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc. *Register* I., 54; V 336; also *The Mayflower Descendant*, III., 155.

[2] Lowndes: *Bibliog. Manual.*

dishes in Froissart and Holinshed were embodied in the pedigrees current in the time of Longfellow, and suggested to the poet the words which he puts into the mouth of Myles Standish:

"One of my ancestors ran his sword through the heart of Wat Tyler."

(4) "The Country Farmer." Probably "The Country Farme" translated in 1616 by the versatile writer Gervase Markham, who, like Standish, was a soldier under the Veres.[1]

(5) "History of Queen Elizabeth." This was probably a translation of the History of her reign, written in Latin by William Camden, the antiquary, and first published in 1615. Thomas Brown's translation appeared in 1629. There is another version in English in the Bodleian, dated 1630. Darcie's "Annales" were also based on Camden. These works are now very valuable.[2]

(6) "State of Europe." Sir Edwin Sandys [1561-1629] wrote his "Europæ Speculum" in 1599. It was published in 1605 as "A Relation of the State of Religion, &c." An edition was published at the Hague in 1629. Though fairly tolerant, it is described as Protestant in tendency; and is said to have converted from Romanism, Henry Wriothesley, the third Earl of Southampton. Sandys was actively interested in colonies, and had correspondence with Robinson and Brewster.[3]

(7) Doctor Hall's Works (another transcript has Hales). Joseph Hall [1574-1656] was Bishop of Exeter, 1627, and of Norwich, 1641. This eminent controversialist was strongly opposed both to the Brownists and Presbyterians The presence of his books in Standish's library is noteworthy. The Captain was not a member of the Pilgrim Church; possibly his opinions were nearer those of Bishop Hall than those of Pastor Robinson. Hall was one of King James's representatives at the Synod of Dort, 1627;

[1] Lowndes: *Bibliog. Manual.* Markham: *The Fighting Veres.*

[2] *Lancashire Libraries*, Chet. Soc., p. 132.

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Lancs. Libraries.*

and, though Calvinist, advocated charity towards Armenians. He was a powerful champion of liturgies and of episcopacy. His "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted," appeared in 1640. In his "Hard Measure" he gives an account of his arrest and ill-treatment by the Parliamentarians. Though clever in satire, he was gentle and patient in temper. Fuller describes our English Seneca as "Not ill at controversies, more happy at comments; very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations." Folio editions of Hall's works appeared in 1621 and in subsequent years.

(8) Calvin's "Institutes." The "Institutes of the Christian Religion," 1536, published when John Calvin, the reformer, was still a young man, was translated and issued in many editions.

(9) The Works of Wilcox. Thomas Wilcox [1549 ?-1608] was a Puritan divine who lived in London. He was imprisoned for his criticism of the Prayer Book. His Works were issued in 1624.

(10) Mayor's Works. John Mayer, D.D. [1583-1664] wrote "An Antidote against Popery," 1625. He complained that the bishops hindered the publication of his "Commentary on the Bible," which was issued, however, in 1653, in five volumes, folio. There were copies of this work both at Turton Chapel and Walmsley Chapel, Lancashire, in 1659. Mayer was rector of Raydon, near Hadleigh, at his death.

(11) Rogers' "Seven Treatises." A popular Puritan book by Richard Rogers [1550 ?-1618], minister of Weatherfield, in Essex; "a zealous, faithful and profitable labourer in the vineyard of the Lord," according to Brook's "Lives of the Puritans." He was not wholly conformable, and was deprived for a time, but afterwards restored. The "Seven Treatises containing such directions as is gathered out of the Holie Scriptures," were published in 1603, and there were several editions and epitomes printed. A folio copy in 1658 cost 5s.[1]

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Old Libraries of Lancashire*, 38, 66.

(12) "French Academy." The title is, to us, somewhat misleading, as the book is a moral and philosophical treatise. The translation was made by Thomas Bowes, and was published in London, 1586, quarto; second part, 1594, quarto.

The full title is "The French Academie, wherein is discoursed the institution of maners, and whatsoever els concerneth the good and happie life of all estates and callings, by precepts of doctrine, and examples of the lives of ancient sages and famous men. By Peter de la Primaudaye, Esquire, Lord of the said place, and of Barree, one of the ordinarie gentlemen of the King's chamber, dedicated to the most Christian King Henrie the third, and newley translated into English by T. B."[1]

(13) Three old Bibles.

At the Centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Mr. Choate, then American Ambassador, said, "The Pilgrim Fathers carried their only possession of lasting value to the New England from the shores of Old England. That wonderful possession was King James's Bible. Upon it the new State was founded."

He gave a description of one of the few copies remaining which had belonged to the Pilgrims. "Dogs-eared" was a mild term to express its condition, for its leaves were absolutely worn away by constant use.

The Genevan Bible [1560] was a great favourite with the Puritans.

(14) Cæsar's "Commentaries." In Canto I of the "Courtship" Longfellow takes it for granted that Captain Standish's copy of the Commentaries of Cæsar would be the English translation by Arthur Golding. This seems probable. Golding was a voluminous translator, both from the Classics and from Calvin and Beza. His edition of the Commentaries appeared in 1565.

Longfellow makes the Captain quote from "Commentaries," Book II., c. 10, the story how the Roman

[1] Halkett and Laing, *Dict. Anon. Lit.*, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article on Thomas Bowes.

leader turned a retreat into a victory by putting himself at the head of the troops. This was to illustrate the principle "If you wish a thing to be well done, you must do it yourself."

(15) Barriffe's "Artillery." Longfellow's reference to this book has already been mentioned. The volume had a lengthy title, "Militarie Discipline; or the Young Artillery Man, Wherein is Discoursed and Shown the Postures, both of Musket and Pike, the exactest way, &c. Together with the Exercise of the Foot in their Motions, with much variety: As also, diverse and several Forms for the Imbatteling small or great Bodies demonstrated by the number of a single Company with their Reducements. Very necessary for all such as are Studious in the Art Military. Whereunto is also added the Postures and Beneficiall Use of the Half-Pike joyned with the Musket. With the way to draw up the Swedish Brigade." By Col. *William Barriffe*. The 4th edition was published in 1643.

Significant of his Puritan principles, Barriffe placed this text on his title-page: "Psalmes 144: 1. 'Blessed be the Lord my Strength which teacheth my hands to warre and my fingers to fight.'"

(16) Preston's Sermons. An edition of the works of Dr. John Preston [1587-1628], a popular Puritan divine, was published in London in 1615. Fuller called him the greatest pulpit-monger in England in man's memory.

The generous Manchester merchant, Humphrey Chetham, who provided in his will, dated 1651, for the foundation of five libraries, wished them to consist of godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's and Perkins' works.

(17, 18, 21, 22) Burroughs' "Christian Contentment," &c. Jeremiah Burroughs [1599-1646] at one time assisted Calamy as minister at Bury St. Edmunds. He was suspended from the rectory of Tivetshall for refusing to read the Book of Sports. In 1637 he became teacher of a Congregationalist Church at Rotterdam. He was well known for the moderation of his views, and was hardly a separatist. Baxter said if all independents had been like

MYLES STANDISH'S GRAVE, DUXBURY, U.S.A.

Burroughs, all episcopalians like Ussher, and all presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, the breaches of the church would soon have been healed. "The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment" was published in 1648; his "Gospel-Conversation" in the same year; "Earthly Mindedness . . ." in 1656. His "Discovery" has not been identified by the present writer. Was it a book by Stephen or William Borough, the navigators? William Borough published a "Discours" on the compass in 1581. Or is the entry an error for Henry Barrowe's "Brief Discovery of the False Church," 1591?

(19) "The Passions of the Minde in generall," by Th. W. [Thomas Wright], was published in London, 1601. It was dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, the third Earl of Southampton, in the hope that the Earl may be "delivered from inordinate passions." It included some verses of commendation by B. I., possibly Ben Jonson.

Of the author, Thomas Wright, little is known; there were several of the same name, often confused with one another. It may be remembered that Southampton was not only the patron of Shakespeare and of literature generally, but interested in colonisation. He aided Weymouth's expedition to Virginia, 1605, and four years later became a member of the Virginia Company's Council.

(20) "The Physician's Practice."

George Herbert [about 1632] recommends to the country parson: "And let Fernelius be the Physick Author, for he writes briefly, neatly and judiciously; especially let his Method of Phisick be diligently perused, as being the practicall part and of most use."

(23) Ball on Faith. John Ball [1585-1640] was the Puritan curate of Whitmore, Staffordshire, deprived because of his opinions. His "Treatise of Faith," 1632, was very popular. The scholarly work of Ball gained him the good word of Fuller, Wood and Baxter.

(24) Brinsley's "Watch." John Brinsley the elder [1600-1665], was a schoolmaster and minister at Yarmouth, and "not wholly conformable." A seventh edition of

"The True Watch and Rule of Life" was published in 1615 in two parts, and other parts followed in successive years. A copy, which had cost 4s. 6d, was in the Manchester Church Library in 1665. Brinsley married a sister of the Bishop Hall mentioned above under No. 7.

(25) Dod "On the Lord's Supper." John Dod [1549 ?-1645] was the Puritan incumbent of Hanwell, Oxfordshire. It is said that he preached at Cambridge against excessive drinking, and was "ragged" by the students, who compelled him to deliver a sermon on Malt. He began, "Beloved, I am a little man, come at a short warning, to deliver a brief discourse upon a small subject," and took the letters of the word Malt to suggest the divisions of his address. "Ten Sermons . . . for the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper," by Dod and R. C. (Richard Cleaver), were published in 1633.

(26) Sparke "Against Heresy." Thomas Sparke [1548-1616], D.D. Oxford, 1581, was a Puritan divine, but a conformist. His "Answere to Mr. John de Albine's notable Discourse against Heresies" appeared in 1591.

(27) "Davenport's Apology." This was published at Rotterdam in 1636. It was entitled "An apologeticall reply to a work called: An answer to the unjust complaint of W. B."

The Rev. John Davenport was an ordained clergymen, praised at one time by Laud. He went abroad on account of Puritan opinions, and became co-pastor with John Paget of the English Church at Amsterdam. He objected to the baptism of children not proved to be of Christian parents, and quarrelled with Paget, whom he accused of tyranny and heresy. He returned to England in 1635, but went to New Haven in 1639.[1]

(28) "A Reply to Dr. Cotton on Baptism." The English and American Puritan divine, John Cotton [1585-1652], was vicar of Boston, Lincs., and emigrated to Boston,

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Brit. Mus. E. Eng. Books to* 1640, p. 451.

America, in 1633. His "Grounds and Ends of the Baptisme of the Children of the Faithfull" was published in 1647.[1]

(29) "The German History" would be some portion of the work next mentioned.

(30) "The Sweden Intelligencer" is a book which reveals Captain Standish's interest in the career of the great soldier, Gustavus Adolphus [1594-1632], King of Sweden and hero of the Thirty Years' War. "The Swedish Intelligencer—The Truest Information of the Wars of Gustavus Adolphus" was published in sections.

Parts I. to IV., London, Nathaniel Butter, 1632-33, 4to, contained a portrait of Gustavus Adolphus. Part V., entitled "The Continuation of the German History," 1632, had an account of the King's funeral. Part VI. was called "History of the present Warres of Germany," 1634. Part VII., 1635, "The German History Continued."[2]

(31) "Reason Discussed" is also transcribed as "Reasons Discussed." It was probably an answer to some controversial work such as Johnson's "Certayne reasons," etc., No. 38.

(33) "Psalm Book." This was probably "The Booke of Psalms, englished both in prose and Metre by Henry Ainsworth, Amsterdam, 1612." In Canto III of the "Courtship," Longfellow describes Priscilla's copy as having

> "Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a churchyard,
> Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses."

The Bay Psalm-Book, and other Psalters in use in the New England settlements are described in A. M. Earle's "Sabbath in Puritan New England." Henry Ainsworth [1571-1622] was one of the most scholarly of the Brownist teachers. He settled in Amsterdam, and attained some

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog. Supplement*, Vol. II.

[2] For a fuller account, and a note as to the value of the work, see Lowndes' *Bib. Man.*, 2555.

eminence as a student of Hebrew. He is said to have worked as a bookseller's porter, living upon "ninepence in the weeke with roots boyled." With Francis Johnson, who will be mentioned later, he was co-pastor of the Puritan Church at Amsterdam.

(34) "Nature and Grace in Conflict" (not identified).

(35) "A Law Book." Michael Dalton's "County Justice" (1618) and the "Abridgements of the Statutes" were recommended to the clergy in 1632, as useful law books.[1]

(36) "The Mean in Mourning" (not identified).

(37) "Allegations against B. P. of Durham." Evidently a controversial work.

In the British Museum there is "A Discharge of Five Imputations of Mis-allegations falsely charged upon the Bishop of Duresme by an English Baron" (Arundell of Wardour). This was published in London, 1633. Possibly it is the very book of which Captain Standish had a copy, the title being abbreviated by the executors. According to the "Dictionary of National Biography" it was written by Thomas Morton, then Bishop of Durham. The imputations appeared in MS. only.[2]

(38) Johnson's "Against Hearing" was one of the most bigoted of separatist books. The full title was "Certayne reasons and arguments proving that it is not lawfull to heare or to have any spirituall communion with the present Ministerie of the Church of England." It was published in 1604.

Francis Johnson [1562-1618] was in 1589 a preacher to English Merchants in Gasthuis Kerk, Middleburg in Zealand; later he was pastor at Amsterdam. An extraordinary quarrel arose concerning the dress worn by his wife, a rich and fashionable lady, who is said to have had her bodice fastened to her petticoat with laces, as men

[1] George Herbert's "Country Parson," ed. Palmer, i., 274. For list of legal works of that date see Lowndes, *Bibliog. Man.*, II., 1323.

[2] *British Museum Catalogue.* For the suggested identification the Author is indebted to the Rev. Alexander Gordon.

fastened their doublets and hose. This was alleged to be contrary to Deut. xxii., 5, and other Scriptures. She also wore a " topish " bonnet; and was blamed because " men called her a bouncing girl." Henry Ainsworth was co-pastor of the Church at Amsterdam with Johnson, and they quarrelled about the powers of the church and pastorate.[1]

(39) " Wilson's Dictionary." Another misleading title. " The Christian Dictionarie," published in London, 1612, was one of the earliest attempts at an English concordance of the Bible. It attained six editions before 1656. Thomas Wilson [1563-1622], the author, was rector of St. George the Martyr, Canterbury; a man of Puritan tendencies, but a conformist.

(40) " Homer's Iliad." This was very probably a translation by the dramatist, George Chapman [1559-1634]. There were various editions; Ben Jonson's copy, dated 1598, is in the British Museum. We wonder whether Captain Standish's emotions " on first looking into Chapman's Homer," were at all like those of Keats some two centuries later. Keats could only imagine how the discoverer of the Pacific felt; Standish knew by experience what it was to stand " silent upon a peak " and survey a new world.

(41) "A Commentary on James Ball's Catechism." James Ball is unknown. John Ball, mentioned already (23), was the author of a Short Catechism.

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Dexter's *Congregationalism.* *B.M. Catalogue.*

CHAPTER IX.

Deeds Relating to the Lost Lands.

The Latin copies or abstracts of most of these deeds relating to the lands of the Standishes of Ormskirk, Co. Lancaster, collected and numbered by the Author, were printed by the Author in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1914; the old spelling of surnames and place-names is retained.

1

Grant from Evan or Ewan (Vanus) Standish of Werynγton, son and heir of the late William Standish, to Hugh Standish of Ormeskirk and his heirs of all my right and claim to all those messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services, which the said Hugh has in his possession in the vills of Ormeskirke and Newburgh. Witnesses: Hamlet Atherton, esquire, Geoffrey Hulme, Gilbert Gerrard and others. Dated May 20, 21 Edward IV. [1481.] (Towneley MSS., DD. 60. Kuerden MSS., Vol. 2, fo. 144*b*. Piccope MSS., Vol. 3, p. 20, No. 60.)

2

Grant from Peter Gerard and Richard Hulme, clerks, to Gilbert Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, of all their messuages, cottages, lands, and tenements in Ormeskirk and Newburgh, of which they were lately enfeoffed by the said Gilbert. He is to hold for life of the chief lords of the fee, and afterwards the messuages, &c., are to be held by Robert Standish, Gilbert's son and heir, and by the heirs between him, Robert, and Margaret Croft, daughter and heir of Robert Croft, legitimately begotten. If Robert has no heir, then by the right heirs of the said Gilbert for ever. Witnesses: Henry Hallsale, knight, Thomas

Hesketh and Thomas Atherton, esquires, and others. Dated at Ormeskirke, June 11, 17 Henry VII. [1502.] Dated May 20, 21 Edward IV. [1481.] (Towneley MSS,. (Towneley MSS., DD. 234. Kuerden MSS., Vol. 2, fo. 144*b*.)

3

Rental of Margaret Standysshe, widow, for a whole year, A.D. 1529, Ormskirk, Borscoghe, Croston, Mawdisley, Wryghtington, Newburghe: total, except free rents—£3 12s. 10d. (Piccope MSS., Vol. 3, p. 42, No. 114.)

4

Grant from Thomas Standissh of Ormeskirk in co. Lanc., gentleman, for £10, of which he acknowledges the receipt, to George Nelson, of Croston, of a messuage in Wrightington, with the lands, rents and services belonging to it, the premises being worth 16s. annually. George and his heirs are to hold them of the chief lords of the fee. Thomas Standisshe moreover appoints Gilbert Nelson and —— Morecroft his attorneys to give George Nelson full and peaceable seisin according to this charter. Witnesses: Henry Standanought, Peter Prescot, chaplains, James Assheton, yeoman, and others. Dated at Wrighttington, July 14, 31 Henry VIII. [1539.] (British Museum Additional MS., 32104, No. 1341.)

5

Indenture, in English, made the eighteenth day of July, 31 Henry VIII. [1539], between Thomas Standishe of Ormskirk and George Nelson. Thomas has sold to George for £10 a messuage, land, and meadow in Wrightington of the clear [annual] value of 16 shillings "over all manner of charges &c. which Jane wife unto the said Thomas hath in the said mese or tenement." Nevertheless if Thomas Standish or his heirs wish to buy back again the said tenement, they may do so, after giving due warning and making repayment at any time within ten years. (Towneley MSS., GG. 1238. Duplicates: *Ib.*, GG. 1326 RR. 992.)

6

Bond by which George Nelson of Croston in co. Lanc., yeoman, is bound to Thomas Standish of Ormiskerke in 100 marks. Dated July 18, 31 Henry VIII. [1539.] The condition is that George Nelson perform the covenants in a pair of indentures of the same date between the above-named parties. Then the bond is to be void, otherwise in effect. (Towneley MSS., RR. 993, Duplicate: GG. 1397.)

7

Grant from Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, to Brian Morecroft, clerk, rector of the parish church of Aghton, William Laithewaite of Ormeskirke, Hector Morecroft of Ormeskirke, and William Morecroft of Altegrange, of all his messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services and all hereditaments whatsoever in Ormeskirk, Burscogh, Wrightington, Newburgh, Mawdesley and Croston, or elsewhere in co. Lanc. They are to hold for the use of the said Thomas for his life; afterwards for the use of Anne, daughter of Thomas for five years. Provided always that if John the brother of Thomas, or anyone else who is next heir to Thomas, pay Anne £20, the feoffees are to hold the estate for the use of John, or Thomas's next heir. After the five years, they are to hold for the use of the right heir of Thomas legitimately begotten; in default for the use of John his brother and John's legitimate heirs; in default for the use of Huan, another brother of Thomas, and Huan's heirs. Remainder to the right heirs of Thomas. Dated July 7, 32 Henry VIII. [1540.] (Towneley MSS., DD. 211, collated with BB. 1480, which is either a duplicate or a confirmation.)

8

Grant from George Nelson of Croston, yeoman, to Thomas Standish of Ormeschurch (for £10 paid to George by Thomas), of a messuage in Wrightington with lands and tenements, held in mortgage by charter of the said Thomas, and lately in the tenure of William Hesketh and Alice

Robinson. George appoints Thomas Botill of Lathum his attorney to deliver seisin. Dated May 7, 35 Henry VIII. [1543.] (Towneley MSS., GG. 1279. A probable duplicate RR. 1028 adds "prat" (meadow) after tenements, but is dated in error 25H.8.)

9

Release from George Nelson of Croston, yeoman, to Thomas Standish of Ormeskirke, gentleman, on the date of these presents, of full possession of a messuage in Wrightington with all lands and tenements appertaining, in the tenure of William Hesketh and Alice Robinson. George surrenders all right that ever he had in the premises, and acknowledges himself and heirs excluded from any action at law. Dated May 9, 35 Henry VIII. [1543.] (British Museum Additional MS., 32104, No. 525.)

10

Grant from Thomas Standishe [of Ormeskirke, gentleman], to William Stopforth of Merton, for divers reasons, and for £10 paid him by the said William, of all my messuages, lands, tenements [rents and services], which I have in Wrightington in the parish of Eccleston, lately in the tenure of William Hesketh, Alice Robinson and Robert Finche. To hold to William in perpetuity of the chief lords of the fee, rendering to Thomas and his heirs annually 7s. rent at Pentecost and St. Martin in equal portions. Thomas attorns Richard Masoun of Lathom and Richard Prescot [of Newbrugh] to deliver possession. Dated May 10, 35 Henry VIII. [1543.] (Towneley MSS., GG. 1203. Duplicates: RR. 987 and Additional MS. 32104, No. 1366, from which the words in brackets are taken.)

11

Bond by which Thomas Standishe of Ormskirke, gentleman, is bound to William Stopforthe of Merton in £60. Dated May 10, 35 Henry VIII. [1543.] (Condition not stated. Towneley MSS., BB. 1396.)

12

Grant from Thomas Standishe of Ormiskirk, gentleman, for £5 3s. 4d., to William Stopford of Merton, of a certain annual rent of 7s., issuing out of a tenement and lands adjacent in Wrightington. Thomas releases to William and his heirs all right and claim in the said rent. Dated at Ormiskirk, April 24, 37 Henry VIII. [1545.] (Towneley MSS., DD. 367; *cf.* GG. 1203, above.)

13

Bond by which Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, is bound to William Stopforth of Merton in £40. Dated April 24, 37 Henry VIII. [1545.] The condition is that whereas Thomas Standish has sold to William Stopford a certain annual rent of 7s. issuing from a tenement and lands in Wrightington, if William and his heirs peaceably hold this rent unmolested by the said Thomas, then this obligation shall be void. (Additional MS. 32104, No. 1380.)

14

John Hanson, M.A., Archdeacon of Richmond, divorces Thomas Standishe of Ormskirk parish and Jane (Joanna) Stanley *alias* Standishe of the same parish. Dated November 20, 1558 [1548 *has been crossed out*]. Thomas was not 9 years old, and Jane not 11, when they were married. (Piccope MSS., Vol. 3, p. 42, No. 117.)

15

Release from Hugh Standish, lately of Wigan, gentleman, son and heir of Thomas [Standish] lately of Ormskirk, deceased, to William Stopford of Bispham, gentleman, and his heirs, of all the right and claim that ever he had to a messuage with appurtenances in Wrightington in the tenure of Margaret Hesketh, widow, and Robert Hesketh. Hugh, acknowledges himself and his heirs excluded from any action at law. Dated November 20, 9 Elizabeth [1556]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 371.)

16

Quitclaim from Jane (Joanna) Standish, widow of Thomas Standish, lately of Ormskirk, to Hugh Standish her son, of all the right she had or has in all messuages, burgages, lands and tenements in Ormskirk, Burscough and Newburgh or elsewhere in co. Lanc. Jane (Johanna) acknowledges herself and heirs excluded from any action at law. Dated August 10, 11 Elizabeth, 1569. (Towneley MSS., DD. 405.)

17

Grant from Hugh Standish, lately of Wigan, gentleman, son and heir of Thomas Standish, lately of Ormeskirke, to Jane (Johanna) Standish, widow, my mother, of an annuity or annual rent of 40s. out of all my messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Ormeskirk, for the term of her natural life. Dated August 14, 11 Elizabeth [1569]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 215.)

18

Final Concord made at Lancaster on Monday, 4th week in Lent, 12 Elizabeth [March 6, 1569-70], between William Stopford, gentleman, and Roger Sonkey, plaintiffs, and Hugh Standish, gentleman, deforciant, of 3 messuages, 4 cottages, 4 orchards, 26 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture, 4 acres of meadow, 40 acres of moor, and 8 acres of turbary in Wrightington, Newburgh, Ormskirk, and Burscough. Plea of covenant. Hugh granted them to William and Roger and the heirs of William. Plaintiffs paid to Hugh Standish £40. (Pal. of Lanc. Feet of Fines, bundle 32, m. 112. Towneley MSS., GG. 1402, RR. 942.)

19

February 12, 13 Elizabeth [1570-1], Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman, leases to William Heiton of Birchley, esq., land in Ormskirk for twenty-one years. (Piccope MSS., Vol. 3, Hesketh Deeds, No. 137.)

20

Grant from Hugh Standishe of Ormeschurche, gentleman, son of Thomas Standishe, deceased, for £66 13s. 4d., to William Stopforde of Bispham, gentleman, of all my messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services and hereditaments whatsoever, with all appurtenances, in Ormeschurche; William and his heirs to hold them for ever of the chief lords. Hugh attorns Arthur Finch and Evan Blakelaighe to give full and peaceable possession. Dated March 8, 13 Elizabeth [1570-1]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 365, Kuerden MSS., Vol. 2, fo. 144*b*.)

21

Bond from Hugh Standishe, son of Thomas Standishe, late of Ormeschurch, deceased, to William Stopford of Bispham in £200, to be paid to William or his heirs. Dated [June 13], 13 Elizabeth [1571]. The condition is that Hugh Standish and his heirs perform the covenants contained in a pair of indentures between Hugh and William concerning land of the said Hugh in the town of Ormeschurch. (Towneley MSS., GG. 1200. Duplicate: RR. 988, with marginal note "219*b*," which may relate to Deed No. 22, and denote that this deed No. 21 is the bond accompanying the fine.

22

On the Monday after St. Bartholomew, 13 Elizabeth [August 27, 1571], a final concord was made at Lancaster between Hugh Standish, gentleman, and William Stopford concerning 6 messuages, 4 cottages, 10 tofts, 6 gardens, 6 orchards, 12 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, 10 acres of meadow, 1 acre of wood, and 5 acres of moor in Ormskirk. Hugh granted them to William, but the latter regranted to Hugh Standish for life 4 messuages, 2 tofts, 3 gardens, 3 orchards, 6 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of pasture, part of the said tenements. (Pal. of Lanc. Feet of Fines, bundle 33, m. 25. Towneley MSS., DD. 219. Kuerden, Vol. 2, fo. 144*b*.)

23

Release from John Standishe of the Isle of Man (Insula de Mane) for divers good causes and considerations and divers sums of money to William Stopford of Bispan [*sic*] on behalf of himself and his heirs for ever of all his right, status and title in all those messuages, lands and tenements which were lately in the possession of Robert Standish, lately of Ormeschurch, and all those messuages, lands and tenements which William has by gift and grant of Hugh Standish, late of Ormeschurch, son and heir of Thomas who is dead, in Ormeschurch and Wrightington. Dated 14 Elizabeth, 1572. (Towneley MSS., GG. 1222.)

24

Release from John de Standish of the Isle of Man (Insule de Mann), gentleman, to William Stopford of his whole right in all the messuages, lands and tenements which lately were the possessions of Thomas Standish, late of Ormiskerke, gentleman, lying in the vills of Ormiskerke and Wrightington, Parbold, Croston, Maudisley and Ormischurch. Dated April 20, 14 Elizabeth [1572]. (Towneley MSS., RR. 1045; a duplicate or confirmation of deed No. 23.)

25

Grant, in English, of the Mercer's Field, by Hugh Standish to William Stopford:

"This Indenture made ye third day of October in ye 14th yeare of Eliz. [1572] Betweene Hugh Standish gent sonne and heire of Thomas Standish late of Ormskirk of ye one p'ty and William Stopford of Bispham gent of ye other p'ty Witnesseth yt the said Hugh Standish for and in Consideration of ye some of fourty five shillings to him paid hath therefore given and granted unto the said William Stopford and his heires all yt one closure or p'cell of Land called ye Mersers feild in Ormiskirke wth ye Appurtenances To have and to hold to the said William Stopford his heirs and assigns for eu' In Witnes whereof ye p'ties aforesaid have put their seales." (Town. MSS., DD. 402. Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 144b.)

26

Grant from Hugh Standish, lately of Wigan, gentleman, son and heir of Thomas Standish, to William Stopforth of Bispham, gentleman, of all my messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services and hereditaments whatsoever with appurtenances within the town of Ormskirk, and also what claim I have in the said premises for term of life or term of years. William and his heirs are to hold them for ever of the chief lords. Hugh Standish attorns Roger Sonkey and Reginald Mason to give full and peaceable possession. Dated January 29, 18 Elizabeth [1575-6]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 403.)

27

Grant, in English, by Joan or Jane Scott of her third part of estates in Ormskirk:

"To all men, etc. Joane Scott of Wigan widowe sendeth greeteing whereas the said Joane dothe stand endowed of ye third parte of all ye messuages lands tenem^ts^ rents and hereditamt w^th^in ye Towne of Ormeskirke yt were ye possessions of Thomas Standish sometyme her husband or of Hugh Standish her sonne Know ye me ye said Jane Scott for certaine Sumes of money To have granted unto William Stopporthe of Bispham gent and to his heires for ever all and singular yt her estate right and demand w^ch^ she hath of and in the said premisses So yt neither I the said Joane nor my heirs . . . any right clayme or demand in or to ye said premisses but are from all right utterly excluded for ever. In Witnes whereof I the said Joane have put my Seale Dated ye third day of May in ye 18^th^ year of Elizabeth [1576]." (Towneley MSS., DD. 236.)

28

Release from Richard Mosse of Ormiskirk, in return for divers sums of money to William Stopford of Bispham, gentleman, of all the right and claim that he had or has in all the messuages, lands, tenements, rents, services and hereditaments with appurtenances within Ormskirk which lately were the possessions of Hugh Standish or Thomas Standish his father. Richard Moss acknowledges himself and his heirs excluded from any action at law. Dated September 12, 19 Elizabeth [1577]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 404.)

APPENDIX.

Later mention of Standishes at Ormskirk.

For convenience the references in the oldest Ormskirk Register may be grouped together:

BAPTISMS.

Anne Standishe fi Hugh—April 12, 1591.
Eideth Standishe fi Hugh—March 3, 1592/3.
Jane Standishe fi Hugh—October 11, 1595.
—— Standishe fi Hugh—August 31, 1599.

BURIALS.

Alis Standishe—May 25, 1564.
Jaine Standishe—August 9, 1577.
A Chyld of Hugh Standish—March 27, 1600.
Hugh Standishe bur. in the high chancell December 10, 1606.
Grace Standish in the high chancell March 29, 1620.

In this first Register, the baptisms end March 29, 1626, the burials April 6, 1626, the marriages February, 1625-6.

The entries given above are proof that Hugh Standish, presumably the owner and vendor of the lands, about 1577, continued to reside in Ormskirk. A further proof of this is a deed by which Peter Stanley leases land in Bickerstaffe to Randle Holme and his sons. One of the witnesses is Hugh Standyshe of Ormskirk. The deed is dated July 23, 1585. This deed belongs to Mr. James Bromley of Lathom.

Other Standishes are mentioned in the locality, but one cannot be sure that they are connected closely with those who held the estates which Myles Standish claimed.

An Elizabeth Standish died at Skelmersdale, a chapelry in the parish of Ormskirk, about 1604. The letters of administration of her goods were granted to Edward Standish of West Derby, Co. Lancaster, gentleman, her brother. This document is at Chester Diocesan Registry.

The next Standish found in the locality of Ormskirk is Henry Standish, whose children named respectively Catherine, William, Ellen, Hugh, and Margaret were baptised at Ormskirk on various dates during the period 1632-1643. The name of his wife is not recorded.

We cannot tell who Henry was; he enters upon the stage of human affairs like Melchisedec without known parents. His baptism is not recorded in the Ormskirk Registers, though they go back quite far enough to record the christening of one who was a parent in 1632, unless indeed he is the child of Hugh Standish of unknown name who was baptised in 1599. He may possibly be a migrant; a Henrie Standish of unknown parentage was baptised at Wigan, about March, 1594.

It is unlikely that he is the Henry, son of Hugh Standish, who was buried at Ormskirk on April 6, 1681, as the parentage of an old man would probably not be given.

Henry disappears from view, and soon another Hugh Standish makes his appearance.

It seems likely that he was the son of the Henry just mentioned, for Hugh, son of Henry Standish, was baptised at Ormskirk, October 28, 1640. At Halsall Church on April 11, 1676, Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, was married to Margaret Blundell, of Snape.

Various children of Hugh Standish, whose wife is not named, were baptised at Ormskirk during the period 1679-1686, and some of his children are mentioned in the list of burials about the same time, one (unnamed) being interred in 1690.

Hugh Standish died in 1700, and his will was proved November 12, the same year, by executors named therein.

The following is an abstracted copy from Chester Probate Registry.

Will of Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, butcher, dated April 22, 1700—As to my messuages, tenements, lands, with such personall estate as the Lord in mercy hath lent me, I devise all that my Messuage and Tenement wherein I now live and which I hould by lease under Mr. Thomas Hawett with the Reversion and Inheritance of the Cottage wherein Ann Cape now lives and of one close (formerly two closes) which I purchased from John Caunce unto my Daughter Dorathea Chargeable as is herein hereafter expressed. That is to say it is my will that she shall pay to Richard Pemberton or Margery my daughter, if he be dead, money to make up what he has already had from me to £40. To the use of my three children Ellen, Margaret and Katherine 40s. each yearly, to be employed for their bringing up until they attain 21, then my daughter Dorathea shall pay unto each of them £30 apiece. I bequeath to my sister Ann the cottage and tenement wherein John Gallamore lives for her life, and afterwards my estate therein to my daughter Margaret, provided that if my daughter Dorathea die without issue my said Messuage, Cottage etc. shall descend to Richard Pemberton and his heirs by Margery his wife, in default of such issue, after decease of Margery, to my right heirs under payment of £20 apiece to my daughters then living if there be two or more, if one only, £40. To Dorathea the cupboard, the firegrate &c., &c. To executors, Thomas Barton and Simon Smith, both of Ormskirk, yeomen, my friends, £2 2s. each.

Residue (except a suit which I give to Thomas Tatlock) divided among my three children Ellen, Margrett and Katharine.

Hugh Standish signed with his initials as letters or mark. The will was witnessed by Henry Blundell and Richard Houghton.

It is remarkable that this is the only will of the Ormskirk Standishes which can be discovered.

It seems clear from the will that Hugh Standish had five daughters. One of these, Margery, was the wife of Richard Pemberton. The Ormskirk Register shews that he was of Halsall and married Margery Standish of Ormskirk on December 4, 1697. Hugh had four other daughters, Dorothea, Ellen, Margaret and Catherine, the three last-named being under age in 1700. He had other children whose burials are noted in the register. A Dorothy Standish, evidently not the same as Hugh's daughter Dorothea, was buried at Ormskirk, January 24, 1681.

Margaret Standish, perhaps one of the younger daughters, married Roger Webster at Ormskirk, October 15, 1706.

It is curious that among the later references to members of the Standish family settled at Ormskirk, we should find a member of the Duxbury branch.

In the will of Eleanor Bunbury of Holcroft, widow, dated November 21, 1711, we find mention of her grandchild Frances Standish and her grandson Charles Standish. Frances Standish, of Ormskirk, spinster, was on May 7, 1713, grand-daughter and administratrix of Henry Bunbury of Holcroft, gentleman.[1]

The Frances Standish referred to is no doubt the daughter of Sir Richard Standish of Duxbury, first baronet; she was baptised at Standish in 1686, and buried at Chorley in 1760. Sir Richard married Margaret Holcroft and obtained estates in Holcroft. Henry and Eleanor Bunbury took part in a settlement of these estates in 1709.[2] Their description of Frances as grandchild is not quite clear. Her brother Charles, mentioned above, died in Edinburgh in 1738, when administration was granted to his sister Frances, then living at Preston.[3]

[1] Piccope, MS., XXII., 216.

[2] *Vict. Co. Hist. Lancs.*, IV., 161.

[3] Dr. Farrer's Standish of Duxbury Papers.

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